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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1597

EAST

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**TRANSYLVANIANS' DESIRE TO UNITE WITH ROMANIA RECALLED**

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian Aug 78 pp 20-26

[Article by Dr Augustin Deac: "1892-1894, the Memorandumist Movement"]

[Text] The sending of the Memorandum of the Romanian leaders to the court in Vienna, the printing of it in many languages, and the dissemination of it throughout Europe were regarded as very "grave" actions by the Magyar authorities, a reason why they put the "guilty" ones under investigation. After Public Prosecutor Sandor Iezsensky of the Cluj General Tribunal instituted proceedings against Eugen Brote on 21 September 1892 for printing the document and putting it into circulation, the prosecutor general of the Cluj Prosecutor's Office, Sandor Vita, then extended the indictment to the entire Executive Committee of the Romanian National Party [PNR] on 13 May 1893 for the "crime" of having printed and disseminated the petition called the Memorandum.

**We Must Free Ourselves From the Foreign Yoke at Any Price**

In this situation, the PNR Executive Committee convened the Extraordinary General Conference of the Romanian National Party, in which more than 2,000 delegates from all corners of Transylvania took part and which adopted on 23 July 1893 a resolution of solidarity with the content of the Memorandum, protesting at the same time against the suit brought against the Romanian political leaders.

During the judicial preliminary investigation, which lasted 20 months, both the Hungarian government led by Szapary and the one that followed, led by Weckerle and having Hieronymi in the Ministry of the Interior, tried by different means, going as far as attempts at corruption, to deflect the subjugated Romanians from their just struggle. Dr Ioan Ratiu, the chairman of the PNR, was invited by Weckerle to Budapest in December 1893 to "have a decisive discussion with him." To the proposal that was made to him of giving up the

claim of Transylvania's autonomy and the "Memorandumist agitation," I. Ratiu declared: "That Romanian who has the audacity to change the party's program has not yet been born." While such proposals were being made to the Romanian leader in Budapest, as a result of the order given by the minister of the interior, on 4 November 1893, the Hungarian authorities in Transylvania began an action of seduction among the Romanian priests and teachers, to whom monetary aid from the government was promised if they would try to remove the Romanian people from under the influence of the PNR leadership and to urge them to listen exclusively to the Hungarian authorities. The response given by Romanian priest Basil Ratiu, the vicar of Fagaras, went down in history: "It is very nice that the high government wants to come to the aid of the Romanian priests and teachers whose financial condition is distressing. However, it is deceiving itself if by means of this aid it hopes to obtain a change in the political attitude of the Romanian priests and teachers. We, the Romanians, although we are poor, will never give up our political aspirations, or our points of view, for the sake of money."

Under these conditions, Weckerle expedited the opening of the trial. On 31 March 1893, the Curia Regis in Budapest approved the bill of indictment drawn up by Prosecutor General Vita and set 7 May 1894 as the date of the trial before the Cluj Jury Court.

The tribunal's panel of judges was established in the composition: Baron Zsigmond Szentkereszty, president; V. Cizar and Dr Gyula Issekutz, judges; Laszlo Nesztor, alternate judge; and Dr Elemer Balazs, court clerk. Robert Lehman was appointed as translator.

The "defendants" were the members of the PNR Executive Committee: Dr Ioan Ratiu, George Pop de Basesti, Eugen Brote, Dr Vasile Lucaciu, Dimitrie Comsa, Dr Daniil P. Barcianu, Septimiu Albin, Nicolae Cristea, Iuliu Coroianu, Patriciu Barbu, Dr Teodor Mihali, Danila Lica, Dr Gavril Tripon, Aurel Suciu, Mihai Veliciu, Dr I. T. Mera, Vasile Lazar, Vasile Ignat, Rubin Patitia, Dr Aurel C. Popovici, Basil Ratiu and Gherasim Domide, as well as Nicolae Roman, Ion Munteanu and Dionisie Roman, functionaries, and Ioan Duma and Romul Crainic, priests. Right from the interrogatory, they had a patriotic attitude, rejecting with dignity all the accusations of the examining magistrates.

The patriotism and steadfastness of the Romanian leaders come out strikingly in Dr V. Lucaciu's historic letter sent to George Pop de Basesti: "...Dear friend, we are in March (1894) and only 2 months still separate us from the proceedings that will take place in Cluj. This trial of ours should have a historic reverberation. I am waiting impatiently for the trial and am convinced that we will be able to again show to our tyrants our dignity in standing firm against any attempt or plot of theirs. As far as I am concerned, I feel as if I were already in prison: I cannot leave my house without being followed by gendarmes. You know, dear friend, how futile it was for you to rely on the good will of the emperor. He is no different from his government. When you complain to the emperor it is as if you were complaining to the warden of the prison about the brutality of the jailer. Our



national cause cannot succeed except by means of our steadfast and fearless struggle and solidarity. I am sure that we will be heavily sentenced. Let us at least bear ourselves with dignity and pride at the trial and in prison. Let us show them that we do not fear their threats or their sneaky reasoning or their cruelty. We expect the most stern inquisitions. They must not intimidate us, must not weaken our faith, but, on the contrary, strengthen it, and the firm conviction is that we must free ourselves from the foreign yoke at any price, making even the supreme sacrifice, life. As far as I am concerned, I am inured to prison.... I told them...that you will succeed in being elected deputy of Satu Mare for the diet in Bucharest. They trembled at this threat and did not have the courage to react. They feel in their subconsciouses that I speak a prophetic truth, which they will not be able to change, whose inevitable process they will not be able to avoid, because history wants it so, because destiny wants it so, since it is natural to be so. It is a question of time and we will win. Please, dear friend, have courage and also inspire the others with courage, because only by having courage will we be able to draw the sympathy of the entire civilized world to us. Prepare yourself for the trial of the Memorandum. I also wrote to Ratiu in Sibiu. He surpasses me in spirit. If we have such a courageous and wise leader, we will be able to be convicted but not conquered."

#### "Awaken, All Subjugated Peoples"

Along with the preparation by the justice of the Magyar ruling classes for the trial of the Memorandumists, strong actions for making common cause with the PNR Executive Committee and with the Memorandumists broke out in all areas inhabited by Romanians. Many appeals and motions of support, which served to strengthen the faith of the Memorandumists in the justice of their cause, were initiated in many places in Transylvania.

In an appeal of the Romanian students in Cluj, composed in collaboration with their colleagues in Budapest, Vienna and Graz and printed in Bucharest in 16,000 copies, after mention was made of the upcoming day of the trial, "which will remain inscribed forever in the history of the struggles for our holy rights," the Romanians were called upon to prove that they were "aware of our right that they want to trample underfoot" and, in addition, to be present in as large numbers as possible in Cluj on the days of the trial, in order to prove that the people were one with the leaders. In the appeal titled "To the Romanian People in Transylvania and Wallachia," disseminated around the start of the trial, the following question was posed: "But until when will we still wear ignominious chains of tyranny...? Until when will we still endure the humiliation and persecution of the Romanian people before other peoples? Until when will we still put up with paying heavy tribute from the fruits of our labor and let the government...be able to spend this tribute to eradicate the Romanian people from this country?"

In those days of great tension, the manifesto "To the Romanian People," which regarded the Memorandum as a work of the entire Romanian people, was published: "1) The Memorandum is ours, the Romanian people's," it said in the

above-mentioned manifesto, "and at our behest the national committee wrote it and proffered it to MS (His Majesty) and shared it with the people; 2) the Romanian people loudly demand the autonomy of Transylvania and that we, the Romanian people, be masters of our fate; 3) we unanimously decide that a deputation immediately go from us to MS in Vienna and tell MS that we can no longer bear the many troubles that this wicked administration is causing for us and we no longer want to endure the degrading situation that our enemies have created for us."

A few days before the start of the trial, a popular meeting for making common cause with the "defendants" took place in Sibiu. Among the speakers there also was peasant Ilie Oprean from Poiana Sibiului, who said: "Today, Ratiu with the National Party does not say just 'awaken, Romanian,' but 'awaken, all subjugated peoples in Austria.'" A group of students gave Dr Ioan Ratiu a splendid oak wreath, having inscribed on a tricolor ribbon the motto: "All for the nation." Deeply moved by the strong and enthusiastic sympathies of the masses of Romanian people, Ioan Ratiu decisively affirmed his position on the trial: "We will go with heads high and hearts calm and, proud, we will say that we did what we did for the Romanian people, out of the direct mandate of these people."

In the name of those gathered in Cluj, a delegation composed of peasants Teodor Onisor, Nicolae Herlea and Gavrilă Trifu took the train to Vienna in order to protest to the emperor. Not being admitted, they left at the imperial cabinet a letter in which, among other things, they mentioned that "hard times have befallen the Romanians, the faithful people in Transylvania. Our nation's elected representatives, who laid a memorandum at the steps of the throne in 1892, are now dragged for this act of honesty before the bar of justice like any other common criminals. What these meritorious men did is only the result of a strong decision of the 3 million Romanians."

But, on this occasion too, no response was to come from Vienna.

Thousands of letters and telegrams making common cause with the Memorandumists came to Cluj from throughout Transylvania. A letter from Deva said: "The Romanian people, men, women, young people, old people, big and small in the town of Deva, declare with body and soul that the trial of the Memorandum is their trial. Our legitimate representatives being tried and convicted, we, the people, will be tried and convicted," and in another, coming from Brasov: "We, the Romanian people in Valea Lupsei, hasten to shout to the entire world that we are one with you in feelings, in thoughts and in aspirations. The suit that was brought against you was brought against us. Silence, therefore, all those voices that seek a split between us, the people and our leaders: on the path taken, forward!, because we, having full knowledge of the justice of our holy cause, are with you. Our hearts are with you and will remain with you down to the last breath."

The reports of the Magyar authorities also speak of the solidarity of the Romanians everywhere. Thus, the prefect of Brasov Comitat informed the

Hungarian Ministry of the Interior that the Romanian League in Brasov held a meeting on 4 May 1894 in which it was decided that, along with sending to Cluj a delegation composed of 25 persons led by G. Pop de Basesti, money was to be collected by means of subscription lists and the people were to be called upon to participate en masse in the trial. The same prefect also stated that "Vasile Goldis and Vlaicu Arsenie, professors at the Romanian Gymnasium in Brasov, traveled through the communes with a Romanian population during the 1st week of the current month (May) and gave agitational speeches in the presence of the Romanian priests, as a result of which the delegation of 25 members from this region grew to 200 persons, for whom it has been possible to collect the sum of 2,000 florins thus far."

The journey of the Memorandumists from Sibiu to Cluj, where the case was to be tried, occasioned spirited and strong demonstrations for affirmation of the national rights of the Transylvanian Romanians. In all the railroad stations, crowds of people greeted the Romanian leaders with flowers and national songs. On 7 May 1894, Cluj was assaulted by more than 30,000 Romanians coming from all parts of Transylvania to be near those who were tried. Under the impact of the strong demonstrations that took place around the trial, the newspaper TRIBUNA wrote: "Today will be inscribed forever with letters of gold in the pages of the history of the Romanian people as a day of triumph in European civilization. Today, 7 May 1894, not only will be of everlasting significance for the national and cultural policy of the Romanian people but also will achieve its beneficial effect far beyond the ethnic borders of the Romanian people...."

#### The Memorandum Is the Romanian People's

7 May 1894: the 1st day of the trial. The proceedings were opened in the great hall of the redoubt (here the Diet of Magyar Magnates had voted twice, in 1848 and 1868, for the annexation of Transylvania to Hungary, against the will of the Romanians, who formed the great majority of this province). At 0830 hours, Baron Szent Kerestesz, the president of the panel of judges, entered the hall. Armed gendarmes were posted at the doors.

The defense attorneys of the "defendants" were chosen from the most distinguished Romanian lawyers: Dr Amos Frincu, Dr Aurel Isacu, Dr Stefan Cicio-Pop, Dr Augustin Bunea, Dr Valeriu Braniste, Coriolan Brediceanu, Aurel Muresanu and so on. As a sign of solidarity with the struggle of the Romanians, two Serb lawyers, Dr Milos Stefanovici and Dr Emil Gavrilla, and two Slovaks, Dr Stefan Fainov and Matei Dula, were also present as defense attorneys.

Many press correspondents, representatives of the Magyar, German, Romanian, Italian, Czech and Slovak newspapers, were present. Behind the "defendants," scores of Romanians from the intelligentsia, in national costumes.

The Budapest parliament's own stenographer, K. Osz, was procured for the official stenography of the proceedings.

The formation of the jury court was undertaken. Since only half of the 36 persons on the general list of jurors were present, it was necessary to suspend the 1st session for 2 hours, a period during which 16 regular jurors and 4 alternates were chosen, all from the ruling classes, including Count Laszlo Teleky, Baron Artur Feilitzsch, Dr Reszo Wermer, Karoly Balogh and so on.

After the resumption of the proceedings, defense attorney Coriolan Brediceanu strongly objected to the presence of the gendarmes in the courtroom, and Dr Amos Frincu regarded the jury as incompetent because all its members were defenders of the parties of the ruling classes, opposed to the aspirations of equality and freedom of the Romanians.

The tribunal overruled all these objections. The accused, explaining that they did not know the Hungarian language, asked, through Aurel Muresanu, that the defense and the proceedings of the trial be conducted in the Romanian language. Some of them then disputed translator Robert Lehman's ability to accurately translate the proceedings of the trial. Lucaciu also spoke in this regard: "I have the diploma of professor for Romanian language and literature, a diploma from the University of Budapest, and I want to make my defense in this language.... From what I have heard so far, I find that the esteemed interpreter is unable to translate our words, and this is shown by the fact that he has reproduced hardly anything of our words and, moreover, has changed their essence."

8 May 1894: the 2d day. The trial entered the basic proceedings. The defense and the "defendants" objected to the rejection by the tribunal of the request that the proceedings be conducted in Romanian. The president of the tribunal did not take the defense's objection under consideration.

9 May 1894: the 3d day. The interrogations of the "defendants" continued, interrogations that were also followed by the Romanian peasants, from all parts of Transylvania, gathered in front of the courthouse. On behalf of the court, one of the judges gave insulting evaluations of the peasants, which caused V. Lucaciu to protest strongly: "The Romanian people who have been seen on the streets of Cluj," he said, "cannot be described with the words used by you.... This splendid and spontaneous demonstration of the Romanian people has been a satisfaction given to the most holy truth, the most holy cause, and has given us proof that we and they are one, that we, as free citizens, are not acting by ourselves for our interests and liberties, but that in this movement we are accompanied by the entire mass of all the people."

10 May 1894: the 4th day. Before the public prosecutor read the bill of indictment, a number of incidents occurred, springing mainly from the attempts of the president of the panel of judges to silence the justified interventions of the defense attorneys. To this end, for any intervention of the defense attorneys, the president applied penalties in money, fines that had to be paid immediately. Such was the case of Coriolan Brediceanu, fined twice in a row for his "stubborn" behavior, as the president called it.

On behalf of all the defense attorneys, Milos Stefanovici protested to the tribunal, pointing out that the lawyers felt impaired in their right of defense, and he asked the president to reconsider the fining of Brediceanu. If "we are not given satisfaction," he declared, "we will all lay down the mandate of counsel for the defense." And since the president remained adamant in his decision, all the defense attorneys "withdrew with dignity."

11 May 1894: the 5th day. Starting on this date, the trial continued for 10 days without a defense, despite the request of the "indicted" Romanians that the proceedings be adjourned.

The bill of indictment was read, after which the remarks of the "defendants" about it followed. Their bearing was majestic, as a contemporary noted, "they did not have the air of the accused but of the accusers."

The judges tried very hard to present the acts of the Memorandumist leaders as acts isolated from the aspirations of the entire Romanian population in Transylvania, seeking to present the acts "charged" for the Memorandum as resulting from them, as private persons, and not as an expression of the desire of all the oppressed Romanians in Austria-Hungary. The "accused" leaders, personalities with a vast and deep culture and with an abundant experience in political struggle, defended themselves with a logic of iron, in a sober and clear style, speaking in the name of all the Romanian people in Transylvania.

"The Policy of a Nation Cannot Be Judged by Jurors..."

Against the bill of indictment and the way in which the jury court had been formed, "defendant" Iuliu Coroianu said: "From the bill of indictment of your public prosecutor, I see that our national party's committee of 25 is charged. As a consequence, we stand here as the Romanian people's representatives, face to face with politically biased jurors. The question of the policy of a nation, gentlemen, cannot be judged by jurors. You will admit, therefore, that the situation in which we are found is very difficult, because the members of this jury cannot bring in an unbiased verdict against us. And especially this tribunal and this jury court are not competent to try this case.... Foreign countries, gentlemen, will denote as barbarism the circumstance that our political opposites are judging us here. It would thus be in the interest of the state and of Magyar justice for the esteemed public prosecutor to withdraw his charge." Developing the idea stated by Dr Iuliu Coroianu, Dr Ioan Ratiu and Vasile Lucaciu, in long pleadings, showed the direct connection between the PNR Executive Committee and all the Romanians in Transylvania. "As a consequence," Ratiu declared, "if this Memorandum can constitute an offense of the press, not just the members of the committee of the National Party can be called to answer for this offense, because, as I stated, the Memorandum is the work of all the Romanian people, people who, I assert without fear of being contradicted, will never disavow what they have done."

Strongly stressing the fact that the "defendants" in the trial were not private persons, but the representatives of a people, V. Lucaciu said: "We, the

Romanians, established ourselves as the Romanian National Party on the basis of a political program proclaimed in 1881. This program is the banner around which, I can say, the whole Romanian being is gathered.... Consequently, the Memorandum not only is the work of the Executive Committee of the National Party but also is, as I said, the work of the whole Romanian nation, and those of us who have grouped ourselves under the banner of the national program have found the expression of our party in this Memorandum, and before us stand those who do not accept either the program or our Memorandum."

After other "defendants" also spoke in this regard, the public prosecutor retorted: "I, esteemed tribunal and esteemed court, object to this statement, because if there can be or is a question of national representatives in Hungary, anywhere, then only the representatives of the Hungarian nation, taken in a political sense, can have this capacity. Hungary and its constitution do not recognize the representatives (in a sense of political bodies) of nationalities. Thus, I cannot recognize the accused as representatives of the Romanian nation and I declare that they were not arraigned in this capacity."

12 May 1894: the 6th day. The previous statements of the "defendants" with regard to the bill of indictment were continued.

13 May 1894: a day off.

14 May 1894: the 7th day. The previous statements of the "defendants" continued. "I am neither a lawyer nor a politician," the vicar of Fagaras, Basil Ratiu, declared, "but a priest who has been in direct contact with the people for 30 years and, consequently, I know all their desires and aspirations.... I cannot understand how it is possible to be charged with an act that represents nothing but a petition addressed to His Majesty, a petition that is the expression of the complaints of an entire people.... This right (to petition) has always existed and I remember that in the time of Emperor Leopold II and even of Emperor Leopold I such petitions (as that) 'Supplex Libellus Valachorum'\* were sent." And Gherasim Domide added: "I too belong to the Romanian priesthood and, consequently, I know the past of these people from the studies that I have made and from the things that I myself have experienced. By virtue of this knowledge, I allow myself to stress the fact that the Romanian people, since ancient times, have been a significant factor in the public proceedings of our state. Until 1437\*\* the Romanian people were recognized in law and in public rights... Since that year the Romanian people have ceased to be a part of the public factors of the state and, in this situation, they have had but one desire, one aspiration, that of claiming their past rights. These views of the Romanian people are formulated in the

\* MAGAZIN ISTORIC, No 1, 1978.

\*\*The year of the formation of the reactionary political alliance of the Magyar, Szekler and Saxon ruling classes known under the name of "Unio Trium Nationum."

programs from the years 1848 and 1881.\* In the program from 1881 there is included as a main point: 'The regaining of the autonomy of Transylvania by legal means,' and in the other points the aim is to fulfill other aspirations and to claim national political rights. With regard to this aspiration of the Romanian program, the power of the state intervened, supporting the so-called 'specification of race' maxim."

15, 16, 17, 18, 19 May 1894: days on which the hearing of the defendants was continued.

20 May 1894: a day off.

21 May 1894: the 13th day. After the interrogation of the "defendants" was finished, the president ordered the court clerk to read the documents from the preliminary investigation, among which were also the charged passages of the Memorandum.

In order to prove that these passages expressed only the historical truth itself and, at the same time, in order to show that the "defendants" had not acted as mere private persons but as exponents of the Romanian people, represented by the national conference on 21-22 January 1892, Iuliu Coroianu asked the president to summon as witnesses all the members of that conference and, at the same time, also certain experts on matters of public rights. T. Mihali, Ion Ratiu, Mihai Veliciu, George Pop de Basesti, V. Lucaciu and R. Patitia endorsed Coroianu's proposal.

22 May 1894: the 14th day. Public Prosecutor Sandor Vita read the charge, specifying at the end that, so to speak, not the idea in itself of the Memorandum but only the act of disseminating the document had to be punished.

Instead of the defense that each of the "accused" was invited to make, the floor was taken, on behalf of all of them, by Dr Ioan Ratiu, who said in closing: "What is disputed here, gentlemen, is the very existence of the Romanian people. However, the existence of a people is not disputed--it is affirmed.

"Consequently, we do not have it in mind to come before you to prove that we have the right to existence. We cannot defend ourselves before you on such a question. We can only accuse before the civilized world the oppressive system that seeks to take from us what a people holds dear: law and language!

"Consequently, we no longer are the accused here, we are the accusers!

"As persons we do not have any business before this jury court, since we acted only as mandataries of the Romanian people, and an entire people cannot be dragged to the bar of justice. The complaints of the Romanian people

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\* MAGAZIN ISTORIC, Nos 3 and 6, 1978.

cannot be judged by an exclusively Magyar jury that is both judge and party. Consequently, it is beneath the dignity of the Romanian people to defend themselves before the jury in Cluj.

"In fact, this is a political and state question that results from an age-old process. Therefore, there can be no question of judgment! You can convict us as individuals, you cannot judge us as mandataries of the people."

Finally, the tribunal pronounced the following sentences: 2 years in prison for Dr Ioan Ratiu, 1 year for George Pop de Basesti, 3 years for Dimitrie Comsa, 2 years and 6 months for Dr Daniil P. Barcianu, 8 months for Nicolae Cristea, 2 years and 8 months for Iuliu Coroianu, 2 months for Patriciu Barbu, 2 years and 6 months for Dr Teodor Mihali, 1 year and 6 months for Aurel Suci, 2 years for Mihai Veliciu, 2 years and 6 months for Rubin Patitia, 2 years and 6 months for Gherasim Domide, 8 months for Dionisie Roman, 2 years and 6 months for Septimiu Albin, and 5 years for Vasile Lucaciu, regarded as "the intellectual author of the movement."

The Memorandum and the actions of the Transylvanian Romanians during the period of the trial represented an important stage in the history of the movement for national liberation and unity of the Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. They were supported by all the Romanian people and had a strong reverberation in world public opinion.

12105  
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FOREIGN SUPPORT FOR ROMANIAN TRANSYLVANIANS

Bucharest MAGAZIN ISTORIC in Romanian Aug 78 pp 24-25

[Article by Anton Ratiu: "The Just Cause of the Transylvanian Romanians"]

[Text] The suit brought against the Memorandumists and the horrible sentence passed on the Transylvanian leaders caused a strong wave of pride in Romania.

The voice of the Romanian socialists rang out with great force at that time. Referring to the nature of this frameup, the newspaper MUNCA, the organ of the Bucharest Workers Club, pointed out that the trial in Cluj represented an action organized by the oppressing Magyar class. "It should be well known by all," MUNCA mentioned in the issue of 15 May 1894, "that not the Magyar people and not the working strata are trying the Romanians, because, just like the Romanians, they are suffering at the hands of the ruling classes. The best proof...is that at the national congress held this year in Pest the party of the Hungarian workers--the PSD [social democratic party]--protested against the trial in Cluj and declared its solidarity with the Romanian people, with its brothers in suffering."

In their turn, the Iasi socialists wrote in a manifesto: "Who can be against the Romanian movement in Hungary, which is struggling with such ability, with such discipline and sacrifices?... Not only we, the social democrats of Romania, but also the Hungarian Social Democratic Party are for this movement."

During the trial, and afterward, throughout the country there were many demonstrations, by means of which thousands and thousands of people, peasants, workers and intellectuals, expressed their sympathy and solidarity with the struggle of the Transylvanian leaders, assuring them that they were with them and that the triumph of justice was not far away.

Telegrams were sent from Bucharest, Galati, Buzau, Tecuci, Calarasi, Craiova, Falticeni, Braila, Bacau, Roman and so on to the chairman of the Romanian National Party, Dr Ioan Ratiu, and the other leaders of the Romanian people in Transylvania. The Bucharest students sent a telegram to King Carol I, by means of which they asked him to intercede in behalf of the Memorandumists. They formed a national student committee, which published the newspaper

TINERIMEA ROMANA, in which they exposed the oppression of the Transylvanian Romanians. Besides the representatives of the students, notable personalities of Romanian culture, like B. P. Hasdeu, V. A. Urechia, Radu Rosetti, B. Stefanescu Delavrancea and others, put their names in its pages. The actions of solidarity with the Transylvanian Romanians were also in the center of the concerns of the Cultural League society. It organized many protest meetings regarding the trial of the Memorandumists.

Deeply indignant at the trial that occurred and at the sentences passed in Cluj, the Romanian Academy sent to all cultural institutions and scientists in Europe an appeal in which the actions for denationalizing the Romanians in Austria-Hungary were exposed. Support for the "just cause" of the Romanians in Transylvania was requested in the appeal. The document drawn up by the high forum of Romanian culture pointed out that "only by stopping the struggles between nations for the purpose of destroying each other will the peaceful and harmonious development of mankind by means of science and art be ensured and will the world give a performance worthy of the efforts that the great intellects who have worked for centuries for the constant progress of mankind have made and are making."

The 18 days of proceedings in Cluj and the sentence were followed attentively by the entire European press and by democratic and progressive political, scientific and cultural personalities of Europe.

The French press warmly embraced the just cause of the Romanian nation, which it defended with all its might. Thus, LA GAZETTE DE FRANCE wrote: "The right of the Romanians in this circumstance is so evident that all sympathies are directed to the accused," and the periodical L'EUROPE specified: "...We will not end this bulletin without sending the assurance of our admiration and of deep sympathy to the valiant Romanian population in Transylvania, which is struggling with such courage against the aggressors of its people, as well as on the occasion of the trial in Cluj. We have continually defended their cause in the pages of L'EUROPE and we hope, along with them, that the voice of justice and of their liberation will shortly ring out for them too."

The Italian press had a similar attitude. IL DIRITTO related: "The conviction of the national representatives of the Romanians in Transylvania, led by Dr Ratiu, for the act of having published the Memorandum, for the cause of their people, will make an impression of disgust on the civilized world, for an injustice committed by the Magyar tribunal, especially as the composition of this tribunal did not present any legal guarantee for the accused, who--let it be said by the way--are some of the most respected personalities of the country," and NOUVEAU MONITEUR DE ROME, the semiofficial organ of the Vatican, wrote: "Our century, which has seen so many surprising events, has not yet given us the opportunity to witness a sight so unusual as the trial of the Romanian patriots, recently convicted in Cluj. On the border, at the point where the Austrian Empire meets the territory of the czars, in the middle of an ocean of Slavs, live the small and valorous Romanian people...."

We, for our part, send to them the salute of sympathy and our brotherly encouragement.... When in any part of the human race there arise people who put justice ahead of force, then those who have a heart and a soul must feel with the heart and the soul of those people and shout to them an enthusiastic 'bravo!'."

The Belgian and English press took the same positions. The publications L'ETOILE BELGE, LA REFORME, DAILY CHRONICLE, DAILY NEWS, PALL MALL GAZETTE, TIMES and so on informed their readers about the development of the trial, taking up the cause of the oppressed Romanians in the Dual Monarchy.

In addition, statesmen\* and scientists of the time protested against the unjust and brutal measures of the Magyar government. Thus, at the Sorbonne, under the chairmanship of the well-known historian Ernest Lavisse, a great meeting in which not only students and professors but also intellectuals belonging to many nations participated was organized on 11 May 1894. Emile Picot, a professor in the School of Oriental Languages, who exposed the injustices in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, took the floor.

After the pronouncement of the sentence in Cluj, Ernest Lavisse sent the following telegram to the Memorandumists: "To the Romanians who were unjustly accused and unjustly convicted for the act of having legally claimed the right of the Romanian nationality, I send the homage of my respectful admiration and deep sympathy and my warm wishes for the triumph of justice and of the right so brutally violated in their persons. I hope that this triumph will be near, I know that it will surely come. Long live Romania!"

In the Italian Parliament, 2 days after the end of the trial, Renato Imbriani, together with eight other deputies, addressed an interpellation to Prime Minister Francesco Crispi "in order to know what action the government intends to initiate in order to support and defend the trampled national rights of the Latin peoples in Austria-Hungary." Imbriani proposed: "... that a word of sympathy be sent from the parliament of Italy to the peoples who are struggling and suffering for their independence and for our common Latin origin." Subjected to a vote, the proposal was approved by 227 deputies, there being adopted a motion of deep sympathy, which was sent to the Romanian Parliament.

A meeting in support of the just cause of the Romanian people took place on 5 March 1894. Prof W. R. Morghiel sent to Dr Ioan Ratiu a letter in which he pointed out: "You will not lack the sympathy of our most enlightened men. As proof: the motion proposed by Dr I. W. Bridges, the head of the English positivist school, and seconded by the venerable W. Spooover, who, to the most vigorous applause, expressed the desire that the Romanian people in Transylvania obtain national autonomy and repeated that the Hungarians, who aroused

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\* Regarding the protest of journalist and statesman Georges Clemenceau, see the article published in MAGAZIN ISTORIC, No 6, 1978, titled "Georges Clemenceau on Transylvania in 1894. All Justice Is the Romanians'."

the sympathy of England 46 years ago (in 1849) by means of their suffering, are now treating the other nationalities in an unhuman manner." In the response sent by Ioan Ratiu to W. R. Morghiel, the Romanian leader wrote: "The Romanians, grateful for the English people's sympathies expressed for the Romanian people by means of the recent meeting, send the warmest thanks to you."

The strong current of sympathy, solidarity and support for the Romanian national cause manifested itself throughout this period. The chairman of the Cultural League, V. A. Urechia, collected in a pamphlet titled "Voci Latine" [Latin Voices] scores and scores of letters, poems, speeches and articles signed by prestigious personalities.

12105  
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SSR HIGHER EDUCATION IN NEW SCHOOL YEAR

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 28 Sep 78 pp 1, 5

[Article: "Higher Demands and Scholarships"]

[Text] Workers of the SSR Ministry of Education informed the journalists at yesterday's press conference about the main tasks of the institutions of higher education in the forthcoming 1978-1979 school year.

Teachers and academic functionaries will dedicate their main attention to fulfillment of the tasks for the higher education institutions stemming from the conclusions of the 15th CPCZ Congress and the CPSL Congress. That will be, namely, improvement of the quality and effectiveness of the whole educational process. Particular attention will be dedicated to the teaching of weltanschauung, strengthening of the connection between school and vocational life and intensification of the scientific-research cooperation with institutes and workplaces of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (SAV) and Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (CSAV).

Part of the unified state plan, according to which the classes in higher education institutions will be taught, is a more severe selection of students and constant attention dedicated to unusually talented students who--besides improvement of their specialized knowledge and interests (possibility of so-called intercurricular study)--will gain an opportunity to finish their studies in a shortened time.

As a review of the last school year has shown, the success of higher studies has been increased within the whole cycle of study. That means that many fewer students failed to complete or repeated the year than in comparable years in the past. Good results were also achieved in other fields. For instance, the number of students who passed all their exams on time increased by one percent (i.e., to 92.4 percent) in comparison with the 1976-1977 school year. That proves that the new teaching system in institutions of higher education is showing its first successes.

Some 12,400 students in the SSR are starting their first year. A precondition for their success--besides their own ambition--is a sufficient quantity of tools of study and textbooks. The situation is improved in

this aspect in comparison with past years. This cannot be said of the housing situation. Currently there are 27 dormitories in the SSR with a capacity of 32,170 beds. Out of this number, 10 dormitories with a capacity of 15,422 beds are in Bratislava. In spite of several measures taken by the SSR Ministry of Education, institutions of higher education, and national committees and in spite of delivering of new capacities into usage (for instance an increment of 750 beds in Bratislava), almost 3,000 students remain without dormitory housing.

New rules for scholarships will become valid by 1 October which--among others--guarantee, for instance, payment of a one-time award of Kcs 1,000 to students studying preferred subjects upon completion of the year of study (the conditions are fulfillment of the studies within the year and a 2.5 grade). Students of preferred subjects (for instance, all departments of the mechanical engineering and electrical engineering faculties of the Slovak Institute of Technology (SVST) in Bratislava) will receive an increased scholarship (depending on the grade achieved). This scholarship will be increased by an amount of Kcs 50. The limit on the size of salary necessary for gaining a social scholarship, etc., will also be changed. We shall inform our readers about these changes in a few days.

All institutions of higher education will celebrate the opening of the new school year on Friday 29 September.

CSO: 2400

## CZECHOSLOVAKIA

### BRIEFS

SEMINAR ON FOUNDATION OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA--The foundation of the joint state of the Czechs and Slovaks in 1918 and the progressive bequest of the victorious national liberation struggle of our nations for the socialist present are the topic of a 2-day All-Slovak ideological-political seminar organized by the CPSL Central Committee propaganda and agitation department, which began in Casta near Bratislava on Friday [22 September]. Jan Skoda, head of a CPSL Central Committee department, stressed in his opening speech that the 60th anniversary of the foundation of Czechoslovakia, which we are recalling after the 60th anniversary of the Great October and the 30th anniversary of the Czechoslovak people's victory in February 1948, is a permanent source of instruction and is connected with the socialist present. The opening report on the topic "The 60th Anniversary of the Foundation of Czechoslovakia and Our Socialist Present" was presented by Academician Zdenek Snitil, director of the CPCZ Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism. Other reports and the discussion are scheduled for Saturday [23 September]. [Text] [Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 23 Sep 78 p 2 AU]

CSO: 2400

## EAST GERMANY

### JULY-AUGUST 1978 DOUBLE ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 11 Jul 78 p 4

[Werner Mueller review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 33, No 7/8, July-August 1978, signed to press 14 June 1978, pages 673-864: "Socialism's Sources of Strength." Translations and/or summaries of the articles by some of the authors referred to below as well as by others are published in pages following this review]

[Text] This double issue focuses on the shaping of developed socialism in the GDR. A total of 19 contributions are devoted to this topic.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, in his lead article, "The Shaping of the Developed Socialist Society--A Task of Historic Scope," formulates guideline ideas which make reference to the program adopted by the Ninth Party Congress. "This program," he says, "proceeds from the premise that socialism is not an independent socioeconomic formation but the first phase, the initial stage, of the future communist social order. Under the conditions of that order, as Marx has put it, the 'real acquirement of humanism by man for man' will be possible. . . . Bearing this great aim in mind we recognize the shaping of the developed socialist society as a historic process of far-reaching political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes."

The ideas posed in the Honecker article are discussed in greater detail by members of the party leadership in additional contributions to a specific range of topics. Thus Guenter Mittag writes about the purposeful implementation of the main task as an objective prerequisite for the shaping of developed socialism. Harry Tisch underscores the creative initiative of the masses as a source of strength for socialism. Paul Verner treats the role of the party as the most important factor of the developed socialist society.

The subsequent topics cover a wide range. This applies to the ideas which Otto Reinhold has contributed to some theoretical problems of developed socialism. The expositions on ideological questions related to the struggle for peace and detente deserve attention (Erich Huettner/Peter Stechmesser) as well as Herbert Scheibe's reflections on the topic, "The Socialist Revolution



Is Given Reliable Protection." Other essays are devoted to the sphere of science and technology (Herbert Weiz) and to youth as the co-shaper of the socialist society (Wolfgang Herger).

"National Income--Growth--Prosperity" is the theme of a contribution by Helmut Koziolk, while Gerhard Brendel and Hans-Joachim Dubrowsky give an account of cooperation, economic integration and the rapprochement among socialist states in the interaction of these processes. [1] Two articles discuss cultural problems: Hans-Joachim Hoffmann and Werner Kuehn comment on topical aspects of our cultural policy in the interest of the working man. Elisabeth Simons has written a paper on the 50th anniversary of the founding of the Federation of Proletarian-Revolutionary Writers which clarifies a major chapter of the great traditions of the German workers movement in the field of ideological work.

The "Consultation" column in this issue deals with the revolutionary nature of the continued shaping of the socialist society (Hans Steussloff). [2]

In a review Gerhard Schulz outlines the results of the international scientific conference of 16-19 May 1978, organized in Karl-Marx-Stadt by the central scientific institutions of our party in honor of the 160th birthday of Karl Marx. [3]

The "Facts and Figures" column contains, among other things, material on the development of the social structure in the GDR and on our national economy. [4]

#### FOOTNOTES

[1] "Cooperation--Economic Integration--Rapprochement Among Socialist States: On Topical Publications About the Process of Socialist Economic Integration," by Prof Dr Gerhard Brendel and Dr Hans-Joachim Dubrowsky, director and lecturer, respectively, department of foreign trade, Bruno Leuschner School of Economics, East Berlin; pages 749-755. The article discusses the following five publications: (1) Authors' collective: "Zusammenarbeit und Annäherung in der sozialistischen Gemeinschaft" (Cooperation and Rapprochement in the Socialist Community), published by Staatsverlag der DDR, East Berlin, 1977; (2) ABHANDLUNGEN DER AKADEMIE DER WISSENSCHAFTEN DER DDR (Papers of the GDR Academy of Sciences), Department for Publications of the Scientific Councils, Vol 1977, No W 2: "Theoretical Questions of the Continued Intensification of Socialist Economic Integration," published by Akademie-Verlag, East Berlin, 1977; (3) Authors' collective: "Sozialistische oekonomische Integration--Grundlagen und Aufgaben" (Socialist Economic Integration--Principles and Tasks), published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1977; (4) Authors' collective: "Sozialistische oekonomische Integration und Betrieb" (Socialist Economic Integration and Operation), published by Dietz Verlag, East Berlin, 1977; and (5) Authors' collective: "Effektivitaet der Aussenwirtschaftsbeziehungen der sozialistischen Volkswirtschaft" (Effectiveness of the Socialist Economy's Foreign Trade Relations), published by Verlag Die Wirtschaft, East Berlin, 1977.

[2] Article on pages 828-833 by Prof Dr Hans Steussloff, department head for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, Karl Marx Party College, SED Central Committee.

[3] "The Revolutionary Legacy of Marx and Our Contemporary Times," by Prof Dr Gerhard Schulz, director, Institute for Political Economy of Socialism, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; chairman, Scientific Council for Political Economy of Socialism; pages 834-837.

[4] Three "Facts and Figures" articles: (1) "On the Development of the Social Structure in the GDR," by Dr Siegfried Grundmann, deputy director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Sociology, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pages 842-845; (2) "Our National Economy," by Prof Dr Arno Donda, chief, State Central Administration for GDR Statistics; pages 845-848; and (3) "Women in the Social Life of the GDR," by Alice Zadek, graduate social scientists, political researcher in SED Central Committee; pages 849-850.

CSO: 2300

## EAST GERMANY

### HONECKER REVIEWS 30-YEAR GROWTH OF 'DEVELOPED SOCIALIST SOCIETY'

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 33 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 78 signed to press  
14 Jun 78 pp 675-683

[Article by Erich Honecker, chairman, GDR Council of State; general secretary, SED Central Committee: "The Shaping of the Developed Socialist Society-- A Task of Historic Scope"]

[Text] The existence and successful development of the GDR are of historic importance to the present and future of our people, the course of the revolutionary world process and the struggle for the permanent safeguarding of peace. With reference to our policy principles it is being shown how, by shaping developed socialism, we are systematically implementing our program for growth, prosperity and stability while bringing the advantages and impulses of socialism to bear on it, and which requirements arise from it for every communist and all working people.

#### I

The 30th anniversary of the GDR offers a special occasion for bringing to mind the historic importance that attaches to the existence and successful development of our socialist state. That applies to the present and future of our people as much as to the course of the revolutionary world process and, not last, to the struggle for the permanent safeguarding of peace. From such a vantage point it is also possible to appreciate still more accurately the importance of those goals that the Ninth SED Congress adopted for the further shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR.

A fundamental change occurred in the life of our people through the establishing of the first workers and farmers state on German soil, the founding of the GDR almost three decades ago. It brought about, for all to see, the turn toward the construction of socialism. Socialism has taken deep roots in our country. Strong powerful currents are flowing from it into the creativity of men, their joint efforts on behalf of a steadily higher material and cultural standard of living.

Through its solid and everlasting association with the USSR and the other fraternal countries, our socialist state has a firm foundation for its successes in socialist construction, for its security and clear perspective. On that basis it constructively contributes to peace, detente and peaceful coexistence between states with different social orders. We are known to combine this course with active anti-imperialist solidarity in various parts of the world. That is a fulfillment of our internationalist responsibility, which has increased because the weight of the existence and development of our socialist state has increased.

The GDR has passed through almost three decades rich in work and full of struggle. Constantly new, and not rarely complicated, tasks in the building of socialism in the GDR are demanded of the SED, the working class in power and its allies. To our party, the key for success has lain in the application of the world-changing doctrines of Marx, Engels and Lenin to our concrete situation, the taking into account of the experiences of the fraternal parties, especially those of the CPSU, and an appropriate elaboration and implementation of our policy in close liaison with the people. That is the sense in which the ninth party congress staked out the stretch of the road on which we at present continue to shape the developed socialist society in order thereby to create the prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. It is a task of truly historic scope. To cope with it, we need no less revolutionary combat spirit and energetic creativity than in previous times.

We are looking at the course, results and perspectives of the socialist revolution in their dialectical connection and interchange with the worldwide struggle for a renewal of human existence, the national and social liberation of the peoples, and permanent peace. That conforms to the revolutionary nature of Marxism-Leninism and enables our party reliably to determine and implement any needed solutions for the problems that have ripened in the development of our country. Indispensably prerequisite to this is the unity of theory and practice, on which the decisions of the eighth and ninth party congresses were based, so that we will steadily advance and make a better use of the advantages of socialism for the good of the people. That is reflected by the noticeably positive changes in the various areas which frequently make the 1970's appear as the thus far most successful period in GDR history.

The party program adopted by the ninth party congress offers a comprehensive explanation of the historic magnitude of the task we have to cope with. This program proceeds from the premise that socialism is not an independent socio-economic formation but the first phase, the initial stage, of the future communist social order. Under the conditions of that order, as Marx has put it, the 'real acquirement of humanism by man for man'<sup>1</sup> will be possible. Then life will fully be structured in such a way that the development of the material and intellectual wealth of society coincides with the development of man.

Bearing this great aim in mind we recognize the shaping of the developed socialist society as a historic process of far-reaching political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes.<sup>2</sup> In the early 1960's, important achievements were accomplished in our country through the victory of the socialist production relations and through laying the foundations of socialism. Yet the historic task has a farther range. It calls for high-level and systematic development, to quote our program, of all advantages and impulses, all aspects and areas of public life, the productive forces and production relations, the social and political connections, science and education, socialist ideology and culture, all the working and living conditions, and our national defense.<sup>3</sup>

In order to realize at a constantly higher level the meaning of socialism, of doing everything for the good of the people, we have placed before us the goal of creating all the material, socioeconomic and political-ideological prerequisites needed for it. That has given us our main task, and we, in line with the ninth party congress decisions, are working on its implementation. Everyone can see this is no temporary orientation, but a strategic one suggesting the progress all socialist society is supposed to make, with its immediate benefit for each individual.

By comparing the systems we at once illuminate the historic magnitude of our task in shaping the developed socialist society. The dynamics, stability and future potential which testify to the upswing of socialism contrast with the permanent crisis in capitalism, its decay of human values and its absence of prospects. We are literally worlds apart. The fact that socialism develops its potentials for the good of men and in conformity with the social interests of the masses is revealed by so many qualities of life which have long become irrevocable elements of everyday living in the GDR too. We are adding to them and are reinforcing and enriching them while proceeding along the course as staked out by the ninth party congress.

Social security shapes the existence and consciousness of the people in our country. The crucial criterion for human dignity in our country is not what someone owns, but what he is capable of and what he achieves, his properties of character, his conduct. The equality between man and woman has been brought to realization. Everyone has access to education and culture. Not only that all the children of our people are well prepared for life at our schools, they need not have to have any worry whether they will find an apprenticeship or a job. Party and government place great confidence in youth and are assigning great social responsibility to youth.

In the construction of socialism, scientific-technical and economic progress go hand in hand with perfecting our social security. This helps us in constantly improving the prerequisites for the development of personality. Even with its highly modern productive forces, imperialism finds itself unable to rid the working people of their social insecurity. On the contrary. Under the conditions of its system, the results of science and technology are leading to massive unemployment and are intensifying the anxiety about the

future. Even the enormous quantities of goods a modern capitalist economy can produce do not change the fact that no solution is found for the people's vital problems there. Against that background, the positive social effects in the development of socialism become all the more impressive.

In view of everything that constitutes the strength of socialism and in various ways enhances its international radiation, it becomes only too easy to explain why imperialism keeps resorting to slander and agitation against socialism. What imperialism embodies is socially passe. It aims its hatred against the GDR especially because the prosperous development of our socialist workers and farmers state demonstrates the limit of its power at the very point where it can least tolerate it. Clear in our aims and through a process of continuity, and firmly embedded in the community of the fraternal countries, we are achieving projects, projected over five-year plans and decades, the realization of which reinforces the evidence that things are better for the workers class and all working people when the monopolies do not control them. Thus we contribute to improving the strength of socialism in the world, whereby we accelerate the solution of the vital questions faced by mankind, a solution in the interest of the peoples and one which imperialism is incapable of, especially in our days.

Of crucial importance to the shaping of the developed socialist society in the GDR is the preservation of peace. The ninth party congress charged our foreign policy to give priority to that concern, from the standpoint of communist conviction, which never separates, but always most intimately combines, the struggle for social liberation and the struggle for peace. By averting the danger of another world war, and by altogether banishing war from international relations, not only vastly more favorable external conditions arise for the construction of socialism and communism in our countries. That development meets with the basic interest of all mankind and of its progress. And thus the GDR, alongside the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, constructively contributes to the safeguarding of peace. It advocates the stabilization and continuation of detente. In accordance with the principles of peaceful coexistence between states with differing social orders, it is working for the kind of international climate and relations that will lead closer to the goal of turning peace into the peoples' normal form of life.

Of crucial importance to that are the end of the arms race and practical disarmament measures. The arms limitation program, as presented by Leonid Brezhnev at the 18th Comsomol Congress, and the corresponding proposals by the Soviet Union at the UN special session, have lent a strong impulse to the efforts at solving these problems. But while the NATO representatives were affirming their peaceful intentions in front of the international bodies referred to, the "long-term program" on pushing rearmament into the next decade was already ready, and shortly thereafter they agreed to it in the Washington council session of the Western alliance. He who talks about disarmament while he is actually engaged in rearmament loses his credibility. He at the same time conjures up new serious dangers for peace and detente. That directly contradicts the obvious realization, shared even by certain circles in imperialist countries, that there is no other reasonable alternative to peaceful coexistence. Nuclear world war certainly would be no alternative.

In the future also, the GDR will do everything and omit nothing that is necessary to insure at all times, together with its Warsaw Pact allies, the protection of socialism and peace. In line with the ninth party congress decisions, we consistently participate in producing and developing the stable order of peace in Europe--and not only on our own continent--that is to insure that the peoples, in the present and in the future, do not have to worry about new wars and enjoy peaceful, mutually advantageous cooperation in the international arena.

## II

The new phase of socialist construction is making high demands on the economy. The developed socialist society can neither be developed nor can it function without strong economic dynamics and a very efficient material-technical base. This development has far-reaching consequences pertaining to economic policy goals as well as to the ways and means by which our economic capacity can be expanded. Economic progress more and more aims at ever better satisfying the material and cultural needs. Economic and social policy become more intimately combined. With it, the objective need becomes ever more prominent of systematically promoting the qualitative factors of growth and of enforcing production intensification as the main course in economic performance development.

These requirements have been extensively taken into account through the course of the main task, and this orientation has made a deep imprint on the successful development our republic has gone through in the 1970's. Practical results can best demonstrate how cogently objective inevitabilities were taken into account. Between 1971 and 1977 the GDR's produced national income grew by 42 percent, and industrial production by 52 percent. On that basis the take-home pay of workers and employees was raised by an average of almost one-third, and a great number of social improvements came into effect. Figures reflect but inadequately the changes in life. The results range from higher wages and pensions via increased housing construction, reduced working hours, generous support for young couples and working mothers all the way to the further development of public education and health. There is hardly a field that was omitted. Not only the safety of what has been accomplished but steady social progress is what marks the atmosphere of the GDR today.

Quantitative steps then also led to new qualities pointing to the far distant future. The solution of the housing issue as a social problem, for instance, will by 1990 have created a qualitatively different situation in this vital area and constitute a significant element of our construction environment for many decades. Or, to take another example: Much has been done to create much better conditions for working women, for combining occupational activities with maternity.

Our party's economic and social policy helps in many different ways solve the fundamental social tasks socialist and communist construction requires: the further rapprochement between the classes and strata of our people, and the

reduction of the essential differences between physical and mental work, between town and countryside. We are well aware these processes take a long time, but they are clearly discernible in our everyday life, and every five-year plan carries on this historic effort.

Continuing the course of our main task, as our party has been reiterating, calls for further improvements in performance, needed for the sake of the internal requirements for our socialist construction as well as for the changes in foreign trade. Greater economic productivity alone will ever better satisfy the growing demands the various public areas are making on the distribution of our national income. Be it in housing construction, in public education, health or transportation, everywhere progress depends on material preconditions. That makes it all the more imperative that all important future decisions guiding the success of our social policy as a whole will be made in the economic field. Every social advance under the changing conditions calls for greater productivity than before. In view of the concrete conditions in the GDR, the crucial point will be to intensify at greater penetration and depth and rigorously to move socialist rationalization ahead.

In the field of the productive forces now there are processes going on that are offering significant opportunities for it. Stated briefly, we are facing the task of fully using the advantages of socialism so that the opportunities of the scientific-technical revolution are effectively tapped. Microelectronics is the best example by which to demonstrate this. A complete mastery and full use of it makes rationalization effects of great economic importance possible. However, one does not master microelectronics when it is applied only in a particular sector. It must apply in all sectors--science and production, manufacturers, supplies and users. Before there can be microprocessors, there must be peak performances in electronics, equipment construction and chemistry. For its effective use, the many areas in which the new technology is to be used must make their own creative efforts.

Our party was well advised in issuing the task to accelerate scientific-technical progress in general and to take a hand in determining, and surpassing, the most modern international standards for especially important products, assortments and technologies. To do better is usually possible only when one can do as well as the others, which is also true in the converse. Developments have produced a complexity which everywhere increases the responsibility for scientific-technical progress.

In our country the conditions are favorable for a production that embodies a high degree of scientific-technical knowledge and industrial experience. The GDR's working people, after all, are highly educated and are familiar with modern socialist large-scale production. Such qualifications make possible the manufacture of an increasing share of high-grade products; in fact, they are needed for it, for they become economically vested in those products. Also then, scarce and expensive raw materials are utilized by means of highly qualified labor, complicated labor in the Marxist sense.



This marks one main trend in the further development of our economic structure. It can be implemented by means of a production that increasingly conforms to concrete domestic and foreign economic demands. That calls for more end products that have a high use value and are on a par with scientific-technical developmental standards and for the needed semifinished products in adequate volumes and good qualities. How good the finally available economic end product is, that will largely depend on producing a more favorable input-output ratio.

In conformity with the requirements for the productive forces, the production relations, our socialist planned economy, must constantly be made more perfect. The combines are of exceptional importance in this; they must be further developed or newly formed. In them we have economic units that effectively combine science and production with turnover. They are large and flexible enough to insure permanently a high level of performance and to maintain themselves successfully also throughout the sharp competition on the international markets. The combines are greatly entitled and materially in the position to solve concrete production problems under their own responsibility, while yet based on the plan. The central economic management organs therefore can and have to concentrate more and more on anticipating the basic issues in our proportionate and dynamic economic development and on creating the best conditions for effective work in the large units that manage and administer the reproduction process in the plants themselves.

Qualitative factors in economic growth are becoming more important also in evaluating the output of our enterprises. Appropriate regulations are taking more and more account of that. However, whatever the improvements may be that still should have to be made in that direction, perfectionism must never be expected of them. Nothing can replace a thorough understanding of the party's economic policy and conscious economic action on the part of all managers and collectives.

The current economic initiatives will have extraordinary importance in the future. The working people are engaged in hard struggle for realizing the 1978 plan. Organized by the labor unions, the competition movement has reached great breadth and effectiveness. The plan quotas for next year are in preparation, and they are already working on the 1981-1985 targets. These closely interconnected efforts have as their common denominator the improved performance requirement for our social policy and the long-term prerequisites for it. As resolved by the ninth party congress, it thus is the further development of our material-technical base which is given outstanding consideration. The systematic development of our raw material base, of our metal working industry and our own consumer goods production--these are tasks the solution of which significantly affects both the economic strength and the sociopolitical possibilities of our republic. From our scientific-technical potential up to our investments, we consistently are concentrating on insuring the material conditions for the needed increase in production with the highest degree of effectiveness and the highest grade of labor quality. The eighth Central Committee session has made that emphatically clear.

Our party will continue to devote great attention to the development of modern industry. It has the lion's share in the production of our national income and crucially determines the acceleration of its growth. Socialist agriculture is making an important contribution to the production of the national income and to satisfying the needs of the population. Based on the advantages of cooperation and division of labor, it has made important progress in its industrialization of production and is carrying on with this development. The more that process continues, the more strongly agricultural effectiveness also will be determined by how funds available are used and labor is rationalized. The development of the productive forces gives some leeway to the structures that have grown up in socialist agriculture; the task now is to consolidate them and to tap ever more thoroughly their inherent possibilities.

Our economic policy is based on our close cooperation with the Soviet Union. As shown by the intensive work on these cooperative long-range plans up to 1990, an increasing rapprochement between our economies is indeed taking place along with it, and that deeply affects the structure given to the proportions and complexes involved. The socialist economic integration by the fraternal countries represented in CEMA is leading increasingly to economic interlinking for mutual benefit. The CEMA target programs are thereby preparing a new stage. And it has been our experience that the more purposefully and closely we cooperate, the better each individual member country can cope with its own developmental problems, and the more stable becomes the progress the whole community is making.

Based on the community of the socialist countries, the GDR is taking an active part in the worldwide international division of labor. It is unavoidable for our country to import certain raw materials and foodstuffs from developing countries and from imperialist states as well. To import certain progressive technologies from capitalist industrial states is of benefit to our own material-technical base. For all this we must pay with our own products. In this fashion we are making use, for the benefit of our socialist construction in our republic, of the given juxtaposition of two opposing social systems. Foreign economic relations play an important role for our economy; that role is going to become still greater in the future. Thus a highly efficient and lucrative export production has to have a firm place within the structure of our economy and must be constantly further developed.

So from the various sides we are pursuing the goal of insuring over the long run our program of growth, prosperity and stability. It is not an easy task but it will be solved with success. To that end, we have to bring more strongly to bear and use concretely the advantages and impulses of socialism in our GDR.

### III

In the shaping of socialist society, the state is the main instrument of the working people led by the workers class. Our party policy aims at further strengthening all around the socialist workers and farmers state as a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat representing the interests

of the whole people. In this, the main trend of its development is the unfolding and perfecting of socialist democracy. It is becoming more and more of a characteristic of life in our society that the citizens, in various forms, take part in the management of the state and the economy. They are committing themselves to the solution of state and social tasks and are assuming responsibilities.

Such an active stance, first and foremost, is caused by basically altered power and property relations. It also reflects the fact that, in socialism, the masses were transformed from being an object to becoming the subject of government policy. The farther socialist construction advances, the more the role of the subjective factor increases. For precisely on how well the working people, under party leadership, come to recognize the inevitabilities in our development depends the degree to which the advantages of socialism are taken advantage of. To decide with expertise, to apply the laws of their "own social action, which previously confronted men as alien laws of nature dominating them," whereby they come to dominate them themselves, therein Engels saw the crucial criterion of freedom. And as the purpose for action in this sense he designated the "social causes set in motion by men such that they would primarily, and increasingly, have precisely the effects intended for them."<sup>4</sup>

The socialist revolution is placing increasing demands on the Marxist-Leninist party's capability of exercising political leadership in the process, on its theoretical maturity and its close and confident solidarity with the masses. We may confidently rely on that experience in all domains of life, for under our conditions also this universal validity has been convincingly confirmed. We have every good reason to say that our party is a great and tested collective that has all the necessary prerequisites for living up to its leadership role.

Time and again the communists are demonstrating they are selfless and fearless fighters for freedom and socialism. Their high ethics is indicated by their efforts at acting in accordance with the principle: "Wherever there is a comrade, there is the party." In conformity with that, they are representing our policy, are moving ahead with their initiative for implementing it, and are standing up in the ideological confrontation with the class enemy and his diversionary designs. The strength of our party organizations in all segments of life enables us in the GDR to bring to realization all the far-reaching and demanding sociopolitical goals which our ninth party congress has assigned to us.

As the conscious and organized vanguard of the workers class, our party also is a mass party. From that we derive all the more of an obligation to place a great emphasis on the political-ideological education in our ranks. That decisively controls the influence the party can have on the thoughts and actions of the whole people.

It gives us special gratification that youth has become so numerous among our members and candidates. Youth owns the future, devoting its life to the great

work of socialism and communism. Most of our young comrades, male and female, come right out of the FDJ, the socialist youth organization which is proving itself in an outstanding manner as our party's fighting reserve. This in turn impressively illuminates the preparations made for the anniversary of the founding of our state. "FDJ Appeal GDR 30" means an allegiance and an achievement for the benefit of our socialist fatherland.

Fortifying the political-moral unity of the people is a focal point of our party policy. Whereas in earlier forms of society the broad masses mainly produced the material goods, their creative activities in socialism extend into all domains. The new society is the work of the whole people. The alliance between the working class, the class of the cooperative farmers, the socialist intelligentsia and the other working people in the GDR has become closer than it has ever been. The enemy could neither stop nor delay the development that led to it, much though he tried to do so.

From the start of the revolutionary process in our country up to the present, the SED has placed the greatest value on a smoothly flowing alliance policy. As a result, all classes and strata continued to develop, made their own contributions to socialist construction and, doing so, rallied more firmly around the workers class. In this we see a remarkable success of our Marxist-Leninist actions and regard it as an important condition for being able to cope well also with the stretch of the road ahead of us.

The relations among the friendly parties in the Democratic Bloc and the National Front of the GDR are marked by confident and comradely cooperation. Common basic interests and goals form a fertile ground for their indispensable participation in the construction of socialism. It also embodies in a vivid manner our socialist democracy.

When the "Communist Manifesto" and the international revolutionary workers movement originated, the clear contours of a new world of freedom and human dignity became visible for the first time. Since the victory of the Great Socialist October Revolution and the assumption of power in the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, it has already become a reality in many parts of the world. By shaping the developed socialist society at present, our party and people take an active part in this gigantic transformation. This indeed is a task of historic scope.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Karl Marx, "Economic-Philosophic Manuscripts of 1844," Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Supplementary Volume, Part I, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1968, p 536.
2. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1976, p 19.
3. Ibid.
4. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1962, p 264.

EAST GERMANY

MITTAG ON SOCIOPOLITICAL PREREQUISITES FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH

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[Article by Guenter Mittag, SED Politburo member, Central Committee secretary for economics: "Purposeful Implementation of the Main Task--An Objective Prerequisite for the Shaping of Developed Socialism"]

[Text] Proceeding from the purposeful implementation of the ninth party congress decisions, it is being shown that the policy of the main task is based on fundamental Marxist-Leninist positions. This socialist production goal, aimed at the good of man, explains the socioeconomic content in the task for raising the national income. To that end all the advantages of socialism are being used, the productive forces are systematically being developed, modern technologies and socialist rationalization are rigorously implemented and, through the combines, modern socialist industrial management is developed.

The Politburo report presented to the eighth Central Committee session by the general secretary of our party's Central Committee, Comrade Erich Honecker, once again convincingly explains that our party is resolutely carrying on its program on growth, prosperity and stability.<sup>1</sup> This policy is in line with the ninth party congress resolutions on the main task and its continued purposeful implementation. That is a long-term strategic orientation issued by our party, aimed at the well-being of the people, the strengthening of socialism and the safeguarding of peace. It is based on fundamental Marxist-Leninist positions.

Our party proceeds from the premise that it most deeply conforms with the nature of socialism to raise the people's material and cultural standard of living. Decades of struggle by the workers class and its allies against capitalist exploitation and suppression find their fulfillment in the realization of that noble goal of creating within the process of social development both the material and the intellectual conditions for the full development

of human personality, of all its talents and creativity. It is in this sense that the policy of the main task, which was introduced by the eighth party congress and confirmed by the ninth, is both a part and a result of the historic class struggle of the proletariat.

History has impressively confirmed the words Friedrich Engels wrote 100 years ago in honor of Karl Marx, "that because of the immensely increased productive forces of the present . . . the ruling haute bourgeoisie has fulfilled its historic mission . . ., historic leadership has shifted to the proletariat," and the seizure of the social productive forces by the proletariat serves to increase the social productive forces and their yields in such a way that "each will find at an increasing rate the satisfaction of all rational needs assured."<sup>2</sup>

Real existing socialism and the constant struggle by the workers class for strengthening it further have turned that brilliant prediction by the founders of Marxism-Leninism into social reality. Today, with socialism manifesting itself through the magnificent social development of the Soviet Union and by having gained, above and beyond it, a foothold in a large number of countries on several continents, it gives evidence of its vitality no longer merely by the irrefutability of its ideas but by facts as well. Revolutionary theory and revolutionary practice are thus working together as a whole in the solution of all tasks strengthening real existing socialism and consolidating its strength and historic superiority. Along with that, each social advance, each step forward in raising the people's material and cultural standard of living, each success in the implementation of the sociopolitical program is a political deed.

From that vantage point, special importance attaches to the results in the development of our country as summarized in the following table.

	1970	1977
<b>Sociopolitical Results:</b>		
Dwellings completed	76,088	162,745
Average monthly gross monetary income per worker and employee	M 762	M 956
State subsidies and allocations from social funds	M 25.6 billion	M 44.7 billion
Retail trade turnover	M 64.1 billion	M 89.4 billion
<b>Economic Performance:</b>		
National income produced	M 109.5 billion	M 155.2 billion
Industrial production	M 170 billion	M 260 billion
Investments	M 34.4 billion	M 49.4 billion

Behind these figures, as far as the life of the people is concerned, one finds social security, steady improvements in living conditions, stable prices, rentals and tariffs, and greater opportunities for training but also for leisure and recreation--in other words, much of what life is all

about in our socialist society. This is a matter of the basic features of our policy and of our life. They all bring it about, as Comrade Erich Honecker put it in his speech to the kreis first secretaries, that the assured perspectives in socialism have man hold up his head and have him, on such sure foundations, view the future optimistically.<sup>3</sup>

How fundamentally different practical social affairs are today in the capitalist countries. With all its glittering facades capitalism cannot disguise the fact that all that society is concerned with is maximum profit. The basic structural weaknesses in the capitalist economic and social system are coming to the fore ever more clearly. It must be highly upsetting for the working people in those countries that economic growth rates are declining period after period (in the FRG, for instance, from an annual average 5 percent in the 1960-1970 period to 2.5 percent in the period after 1970); technological change brings in high unemployment (some 6 million unemployed in the EEC countries); price increases, inflation and high taxes have become regular concomitants of everyday life; and constantly rising armaments expenditures further reduce the margin for social measures while they, above all, altogether threaten all life and existence.

Those are factors that have evolved over the long haul and keep evolving and, above all, affect men's genuine, fundamental, vital interests.

Especially by contrasting such fundamental developmental tendencies at large the vitality of socialism and its long-range constructive factors of growth, prosperity and stability show up all the more impressively. This also, because these are the real conditions, condemns to failure, from the very beginning, any attempts by the class enemy in applying his pessimistic prognoses to us. Yet it is precisely this kind of situation that also underscores it is politically of greatest importance for us in the GDR, while continuing on the course the ninth party congress decided on, to keep demonstrating effectively the advantages of socialism by facts and to turn these facts into still sharper weapons in the class conflict through massively effective political-ideological work.

Our party's approach to answering all questions about further social development is always determined by a fundamental Marxist-Leninist, hence a materialist, position. Each social advance necessitates a higher degree of economic performance. This demand for higher economic performance, however, also is a step toward further perfecting human personality. For the socialist revolution liberated men from exploitation, and socialism, being the first phase of the one and unitary communist society, is first in creating the conditions enabling man to realize himself through his ever increasing creative work. It is in this sense that the policy of the ninth party congress, aimed at the well-being of the people, has a wide range and includes the solutions, in equal terms, of economic, social, intellectual-cultural and ideological questions. It helps further mold the socialist way of life.

We are purposefully preparing a worthy celebration of the 30th anniversary of our socialist GDR. And here, by the successes our republic has achieved,

based on economic efficiency, it becomes apparent how great a capacity the GDR today has and how it has developed, and how closely connected economic growth is with the social advances made by working men, by the people.

#### On Increasing the National Income

Proceeding from the objective of socialist production, aimed at man's well-being, the profound socioeconomic substance of the task our party has given us at the eighth Central Committee session becomes clear. The point is to increase our national income. What then actually is the social significance of this requirement?

To conceive of our national income as if it were merely a part of the total social product, a concept in planning method, or abstract totals, would be missing the point. The most important thing about national income is that it is generated only through human labor which creates the new value. That lends the direct economic expression to the effect it has. Created exclusively through material production, the national income is the decisive source of economic growth and thus the material foundation for any further social progress in socialism. From this it follows that the greatest attention must always be paid to the sources out of which the national income is generated.

National income is formed throughout the course of the social reproduction process. It is at one and the same time the result and the premise of its further advance at an ever higher level. For that reason the national income is indeed a central economic category having a social dimension. The questions pertaining to its production and utilization are political questions of the greatest importance, questions of decisive importance to the implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions in the economy and all social domains altogether. This gives rise to conclusions for all our work in further strengthening the GDR and implementing our sociopolitical program under our basically changed foreign economic conditions.

Responsible social action is shown by the party organizations in the combines and enterprises which, in their response to the question about their contribution to raising our republic's national income, concentrate on vastly enlarging the consumer end products available to society, economic equipment and export products. If we have more end products for distribution it means our high-grade commodity production is on a par with our demands while expenditures in material, labor time and costs altogether are held at a minimum. Thus it is not merely the total value of national income produced that indicates our effectiveness but its use value structure as well. The more the end product conforms to economic demand, proper as to quality and quantity, the better are the prerequisites for supplying the population in the socially most effective manner as well as for assuring an effective continuation of the social reproduction process.



This focus on the economically decisive end result, and not merely on the global enlargement of the production volume, requires economic thinking and a high sense of social responsibility. For these questions about the development of the national income, its elevation and the more widely available economic end products resulting from it, are after all of a great political importance to the future of the GDR. This mainly is what should now have to be thoroughly considered and understood everywhere.

If we are now confronting the question how, in what manner, national income can be increased by means of live labor, what meets the eye at once is that we have no significant additional manpower available for our material production. We can increase our national income only if we manage to create a higher new value in every hour of work. In this precisely, in raising the proportion of skilled labor, including scientific-technical labor, lies the great chance our economy has for increasing our national income, and that ultimately also is its greatest chance.

It is important to make economically fully effective the available potential in skilled labor by appropriate scientific-technical achievements and by production that is organized on that basis. In the process that forms values, plain labor, to quote Marx, turns exponentially into complicated labor. An hour of skilled labor thus produces a greater new value than an hour of plain labor. What is classified as skilled labor, or what funds are spent on science and technology, do not however crucially control the extent to which such great new value, and thus an increased national income in our economy, will be generated or realized. The only thing that matters is the objective economic result. That is to say, we are concerned here with those technologies and products that will yield a measurably higher economic use.

We have already created a significant scientific-technical potential in our republic and are extending it further. That holds true for an experienced staff of skilled specialists as well as for the growing number of engineers, technicians, chemists, scientists and researchers in the various disciplines. The main problem is to direct the available potential in conjunction with the development of the material structure of production and of the investments in such a way that the available creative forces are optimized and made economically effective. What is wanted is a high scientific-technical data contribution to an increase in the national income.

It is extremely important in this connection to place our investments as a tool that will alter our production in providing better qualities and efficiency for it. New investment should more strongly still work as pioneers of new technologies. For the main issue is to make new technologies effective rather than set up new installations in which old technologies are perpetuated. The whole point is to make greater use of investments as a means for obtaining more high-grade qualities and production efficiency. Thus the fundamental task is not only to make more national income available for investments in material production but to produce from every monetary unit for investments allocated in the plan a greater economic yield in terms of increased national

income. That is a political and economic prerequisite for the continued implementation of the ninth party congress decisions and is of the greatest importance, for it simply is and remains the plain truth that the material and cultural standard of living goes up to the extent that economic performance improves. Science and technology require a lead time for such improvement in economic performance and so does the material application of science and technology data. In this sense then it is necessary everywhere that the material and subjective preconditions are more resolutely being created for a steady and qualitative improvement of performance in the years ahead. These issues are vital to our struggle for implementing our party program.

#### Development of the Modern Productive Forces--Strengthening of the Material-Technical Base

The economic growth required for the further implementation of the main task has to find its material basis in the dynamic development of the productive forces. This adds further weight to rigorously implementing the ninth party congress requirement for strengthening our material-technical base.

As far as the material conditions for further economic growth are concerned, it is well known that the economic expenditures for procuring and making available the requisite raw materials are increasing. Because of the significantly higher world market prices for energy and important raw materials, our republic is making great efforts at further expanding our domestic energy and raw material base. That also costs a lot of money. Circa 60 percent of our industrial investments is earmarked for it within the course of the current five-year plan.

On the other hand, the development of new technologies provides great, and in part basically new, possibilities for improving the effectiveness of our entire economic reproduction process. Using these possibilities purposefully on behalf of saving basic resources and materials, equipment and human labor is a basic prerequisite for insuring continued stable growth in the economy for the benefit of the people.

Our party therefore attaches great and increasing importance to the analysis of the developmental tendencies of the modern productive forces and of the conclusions resulting therefrom with respect to the development and application of new technologies. It emphatically focuses on applying those technologies purposefully as means for actively improving our initial economic positions. To make significant progress here is of great economic importance.

As borne out by our own and by international experiences, a transition to what are in principle new technological processes is the basic prerequisite for further significantly reducing the consumption of energy and material. The expectation is, internationally speaking, that rationalization measures and investments in the area of energy saving will economically be cheaper than in the field of energy production, so that it will become economically necessary to aim our efforts also at lowering consumption, not only at the likewise necessary increasing output of our own energy sources. Or to take another

example: The technology of powder metallurgy makes possible a nearly hundred percent utilization of material. In the production of one ton of metal ceramics, by comparison, circa two tons of rolled stock would be saved. In order truly to get such savings in the economy, it is necessary systematically to create the conditions, above and beyond the border lines between the areas and branches, for improving productivity and efficiency through a targeted application of modern technologies, whereby to improve the materials economy.

Particular attention is required today for such fundamentally new technologies that permit crucial efficiency improvements in broad areas of the economy, and the application of which makes possible for us to solve a number of important economic matters in a complex fashion. That applies in particular to microelectronics. The Central Committee is known to have passed the requisite resolutions on an accelerated development of microelectronics in our republic at its sixth session. Since then every day has borne out how crucial the solution of the issues connected with that is for our continued successful economic development. That applies in particular to the saving of material, the improving of labor productivity in conjunction with cutting out jobs, and a significant improvement in the products' qualities and efficiency. New products are created for public supplies and for export. Principally, however, new and highly productive equipment can be produced by use of micro-processing devices. This applies to many hitherto costly processes in mechanical operations, and increasingly also to assembly processes.

Basically, therefore, two trends are observed in the development and application of new technologies: A rigorous focus on saving energy and material and a purposeful use of possibilities for it that had heretofore not been known, on the one hand, and an extensive saving of live labor, especially by cutting down jobs, on the other.

Prerequisite to it is that we will realize which technologies are crucial for making the GDR economy more efficient and that we create all the intellectual and material presuppositions for their purposeful application. What is important in this regard is to master complex management and planning innovator processes, ranging from scientific research all the way to the targeted application of its data and the consequences resulting therefrom. There are great possibilities here, in parallel with the development of new technologies--as in the case of microelectronics--, for advancing the moment when the GDR economy will derive the economic benefit by a targeted preparation of their application to new products and additional technological processes in the economy.

Coming from there, there are two fundamental tasks in the application of modern technology, as indeed in all questions in science and technology: For one thing, science and production have to be more closely combined and then, from that point on, the material preconditions for the application of modern technologies and procedures must be created more efficiently.

Karl Marx has shown that the application of modern technology has a direct and decisive influence on labor productivity. He brought out that the creation of real wealth through the development of large-scale industry depends on the general state of science and the progress of technology, or the application of this science to production."<sup>4</sup>

We need the kind of technologies that assure the GDR economy over the long run of high speed in productivity development and also of the optimum utilization of available resources and raw materials and high-grade products. That is why the strengthening of our material-technical base mainly depends on introducing modern technologies. And that is what is primarily involved in the task the ninth party congress has assigned, of organically combining the scientific-technical revolution with the advantages of socialism.

Our approach to these questions is dictated by the need to provide the advantages of socialism with a more effective field of action in public life. Without wishing to belittle the complicated and multilayered nature of the problems, we may say we have already learned to place technological process systematically at the service of the people. That alone is an enormous historic achievement socialism can take credit for, and not only in our own country. Our party's care and attention now are devoted to the matter of greatly accelerating scientific-technical progress in service to our entire social development.

Technical and technological processes always are and remain means to the end of higher labor productivity and efficiency and the relief derived from that for men's benefit. The role of working man in society is determined by property and power relations. They are defined in the GDR as the socialist ownership in the means of production and the workers and farmers power. That, and not one variety of technology or another, is ultimately decisive for the place man holds in production, for his social role. On that basis millions of working people are working consciously and with ever increasing party-mindedness, in socialist competition, on shaping the social conditions of their lives, on the systematic improvement of their working and living conditions--as it is appropriate for the socialist character of our society.

#### Full Development of Human Creativity Through Socialist Rationalization and Modern Management

That in the outcome of the purposeful implementation of our party's socio-political program strong and new impulses have been generated for the working people's creative activities in socialist production is an undeniable fact. They will determine the people's thoughts and conduct all the more, the more purposeful, rich in ideas, and also rich in empathy, our political-ideological work becomes. In saying, as Marxists, that social reality determines our consciousness, we say that any idea of spontaneity in the formation of socialist consciousness is alien to us. And that is the reason why every advance in the implementation of our party policy raises the responsibility the party organizations have for confidently working with the people.

We are here always concerned with the unity of word and deed. Each individual bears a personal responsibility to see work done everywhere in a disciplined manner and working hours utilized to the fullest, to constantly improving his skills and bringing them to bear on what he does. That also includes that a creative atmosphere of searching for new solutions and their purposeful implementation must govern everywhere.

Any idea, any suggestion on how a better use could be made of working hours, basic assets and materials, how qualities can be improved, or how more effective export may benefit the GDR deserves the greatest attention by management activity and must be the starting point for encouraging further initiative-rich labor. That kind of creative atmosphere finds a special proving ground in socialist rationalization. The economic results obtained there in the economizing in working hours, energy and material and in the better utilization of the basic assets are an immediate and concrete expression of the active and conscious participation by the working people in shaping their own working and living conditions. Rationalization with the people and for the people--that is not just a slogan in our socialist society, it is our everyday reality.

This being so, acting like this conforms to the compelling objective requirements for further deepening our intensification and for improving the quality and efficiency of all our work. In this sense then socialist rationalization reflects active changes in technology, in organization, in working and living conditions, aiming at higher efficiency. Especially the achievements that are to be obtained in conjunction with our socialist rationalization have for their content the kind of combination of intellectual and material potentials by use of the advantages of the socialist social order that decisively contribute to a noticeable improvement of efficiency. That includes modern technology, modern production organization and, with it, skillful management.

After all, it is an essential management task to create outstanding conditions in production organization and technology, jointly with the collective of specialists, male and female, the foremen, the engineers and technologists, so that the capacities will not only be reached but exceeded. Therein lie the real possibilities for fully exhausting management activity. It calls for a clear political standpoint and also for great abilities in the organization of the economy and production of such enterprises.

There are already many well working combines in our socialist industry today. Others are going to start operating. In this there are developing, by means of the processes of the socialization of production, the modern forms of socialist industrial management that conform to current and future conditions. With a high degree of their own responsibility the combines are working on solving the tasks assigned in the socialist economic plan. Their own responsibility can especially be seen by that it extends not only to their own production operations but to all crucial phases of the reproduction process in its total range. This provides the management organization with important premises for accelerating the reproduction cycle and becoming more efficient.

Important subjective prerequisites thus exist for our continuing with the successful implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions, and the objective conditions are developing at the same time by having the socialist production relations become steadily more perfect. And so it will become possible to develop still more deeply the advantages of socialism on behalf of strengthening the GDR and safeguarding peace.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 8. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Eighth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1978, p 18.
2. Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 19, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1962, p 104.
3. Cf. Erich Honecker, "Die Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Party Tasks in the Further Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Decisions), Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1978, p 27.
4. Karl Marx, "Principles of the Critique of Political Economy," Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1953, p 592.

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EAST GERMANY

PAUL VERNER: PARTY'S IDEOLOGICAL LEADERSHIP ROLE TO INCREASE

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[Article by Paul Verner, SED Politburo member, Central Committee secretary for security: "The Party--The Most Important Factor in the Shaping of the Developed Socialist Society"]

[Text] The Marxist-Leninist party is the most important factor in successfully structuring the society the victorious revolutionary workers class has shaped. The article explains why in the process of the socialist revolution in the GDR the party's political leadership role in society inevitably increases further. In order to meet the growing demands of the future, it is necessary to insure a maximum measure of quality and efficiency in work, foster the persuasive and exemplary strength of the communists and deepen all working people's understanding of our policy strategy.

The genesis and growth of our republic throughout its nearly 30 years of history have confirmed the experiences of Lenin's party as well as of the other fraternal parties of the socialist community that the role of the Marxist-Leninist party, as the leading force of socialist society, inevitably increases. This realization is of decisive importance, particularly during our country's developmental phase that was initiated by the Ninth SED Congress, when we keep shaping the developed socialist society and thereby create prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. The working class party has the mission politically to direct this process of penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes on the foundation of a strategy and tactics based on science, and to give purpose and direction to the conscious activities of the whole people based on our party program. Precisely for that reason the demands are growing that are placed on the party as a whole, on every party organization and each individual communist.

That the workers class is the main force in the revolutionary transformation and that it can fulfill its historic mission only under the leadership by a Marxist-Leninist party is a realization that has been confirmed a thousand times in the everyday revolutionary process. Already Marx and Engels have explained that only a "self-assured class party," a communist party, understands the inevitabilities of social development, always represents the "interest of the whole movement," and can lead the proletariat to victory.<sup>1</sup> Lenin's historic distinction was that he defended that legacy from the founders of our world-outlook against all opportunistic assaults while developing it further under the new conditions of struggle that arose when capitalism started its transition from free competition to monopoly capitalism. He set down the cohesive doctrine on the party of a new type and created that party, the party of the bolsheviks.

The practical revolutionary experiences of the CPSU, our party and the fraternal parties confirm the universal validity of the principles for the activities of a militant revolutionary party which were formulated by Lenin. The workers class can fulfill its historic mission only if it is led by a party that meets its tasks as the conscious and organized vanguard, as the highest class organization. And it fulfills its leadership role, as historic experiences confirm, if it lets itself be guided consistently by Marxist-Leninist theory as the only correct orientation in the struggle for the victory of the socialist revolution and the construction of the new society, has a close solidarity with the masses and acts wholly in the interest of the working people.

Guided by such insights, the GDR people under our party leadership made great progress, within a brief period of history, in the political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural fields; while shaping the developed socialist society. Our socialist workers and farmers state has been strengthened further, and this also has been a contribution to social progress in the world at large.

SED Central Committee General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker, in his speech before the kreis first secretaries in February this year, a speech that must be understood as a long-term orientation, offered his high appraisal by the following words: "Our party, together with all working people, has done great work for the benefit of the people, which strengthens further the international position of our GDR in its indestructible alliance with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries."<sup>2</sup>

The Highest Measure of Efficiency and Quality of Our Work!

Creative deeds of all the people is what shapes the developed socialist society. This is a revolutionary process that must be systematically managed under the leadership by the Marxist-Leninist party in which, as Friedrich Engels predicted, the "social causes" that men and their interests have "set in motion will produce, primarily and always increasingly, the effects intended by them."<sup>3</sup> It is therefore a matter of always more strongly bringing out the conscious actions of the working people in our country in conformity with the objectively effective and scientifically understood laws. And the truth



of Lenin's words stands confirmed: "The greater the verve and scope of historic actions, the greater the number of people taking part in these actions and, conversely, the deeper the transformation we intend to bring about, the more we have to develop an interest in, and a conscious position on, it and convince always new millions and millions of the need for it."<sup>4</sup>

It is part of our party's responsibility to develop with energy the working people's mass initiative in terms of our program on growth, prosperity and stability and to lead, with purpose and by example, the million builders of the new society. And the more far-reaching and complicated the management and planning tasks in all aspects and forms of the social processes become in this, the more the demands will grow that are placed on the political leadership of society by the Marxist-Leninist party. And this precisely is why the effectiveness of political-ideological work, the centerpiece of party work, has to be improved purposefully and the working people's creativity has to be developed, so that they will achieve their all round fulfillment and targeted overfulfillment of the economic plan and, in preparation of the 30th anniversary of the founding of the GDR, perform another important contribution for the benefit of the people, for strengthening socialism.

Coping with the main task and developing the material-technical base of our economy require of our party that it will concentrate its capacities and efforts on the economy, on labor as the most important sphere of public life. A higher performance, of course, requires that all working people, and especially all the communists, develop a greater readiness and willingness for performance. All our experiences demonstrate that the party is meeting its responsibility in insuring a permanent, dynamic, economic performance improvement, and in optimizing efficiency and the quality of labor, while the level of management activity and of the activity of all party organizations and each individual communist is being raised systematically.

In his Dresden speech, "The Socialist Revolution in the GDR and Its Prospects," Comrade Erich Honecker gave a comprehensive account of the higher demands made on the party's leadership activity. In calling the five-year plan a militant program for insuring steady and dynamic economic growth, he also pointed out the consequences resulting therefrom for leadership activity on all levels. "It is a complex and multilayered task fully to orient the GDR economy toward the main course of intensification while resolutely advancing our rationalization. Actually, we probably are dealing here altogether with the thus far most far-reaching improvements for the organism of our economy and for all aspects of economic activity."<sup>5</sup>

The acceleration of scientific-technical progress and its greater effectiveness plays a key role in this context. That conforms as much with the economic exigencies which we are subjected to as with the constantly rising possibilities our republic encounters as a modern socialist industrial state. Science and technology are provided with a good feeding ground in socialism. Our party program gives voice to that thought by demanding that the achievements of the scientific-technical revolution be organically combined with the advantages of socialism, so that thereby optimum conditions can be created for a consistent production intensification.

At its eighth session, the Central Committee made a special point of that a higher level of the party's political leadership activity and of the state management work should also have to lead to better political and economic results, in the growth of the national income, larger consumer commodity supplies, and greater growth rates in the manufacture of high-grade products. The party organizations' purposeful political-ideological work must effectively contribute to turning efficiency and quality labor into the crucial criterion for action. It is that precisely which is more important than ever in the work of all party organizations and their managements. What is involved here--to state it briefly--is the communist attitude toward overall social interests and tasks, revolutionary spirit and revolutionary discipline, and each communist's militant energy.

The socialist personalities' modes of thought and conduct mainly form at work, in the struggle for raising the productivity of labor, in the struggle for scientific-technical progress, in socialist competition, in active participation in management and planning and in the further expansion and perfecting of socialist democracy. Creativity, initiative, collectivity, the urge for education, the desire for a life rich in culture, a sense of social responsibility and mutual assistance are more and more leaving their imprints on the conduct of the working people.

The process of social production forms an inseparable interchange between high economic achievements and socialist thought and action. A powerful impulse is generated that fosters the initiative of the broad popular masses. But it is above all the workers class that bears the responsibility for social progress. It is the main productive force in our society, exercising the political power in its alliance with the class of the cooperative farmers, the members of the intelligentsia and the other working strata.

Our party members are heading the struggle in the continuing process of the socialist revolution in our country. Nor will our comrades fail to be successful in the future if they act as models in the collectives in which they work and induce new initiatives. That requires of the party executives to show a high degree of responsibility, in their discernment and foresight, in prudent work, so that each and every party member will be enabled to live up to his model role as a communist. Standing up today as a revolutionary must mean for every comrade that he faces the demanding tasks in the implementation of the ninth party congress decisions and dedicates his strength to the growth and prosperity of socialism. Thereby alone can we make sure that the efficiency of the socialist economy grows at the rate that our demands increase and that we purposefully continue in the implementation of the main task while fully bringing the advantages of socialism to bear on it.

The economic potential created by the working people under the leadership of the working class party in the socialist countries also constitutes the decisive foundation for our peoples' social progress, for their reliably and jointly safeguarding their external security, and for the growing influence of socialism in the international arena.

## The SED--A Party of Proletarian Internationalism

The SED is a firm and reliable section of the international communist and workers movement, a party of proletarian internationalism and anti-imperialist solidarity. That also results in higher demands on the leadership role of our Marxist-Leninist party, for the responsibility of the communist world movement, after all, has also grown for the destinies of mankind, which connect with the struggle for peace and security, for continuing the detente process and disarmament. From that our party derives the task to make its contribution to the progress of the revolutionary world process and to reinforce the forces of socialism and peace.

In our policy, as the eighth Central Committee session once again underscored, it is precisely the questions of the struggle for peace and security, and of continuing the detente process and disarmament, which occupy a central place. Alongside the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries we are directing all our efforts at achieving new successes in the struggle for detente and at making political detente irreversible and supplementing it with military detente. This involves the vital interests of the people, the foremost questions of the life of humanity, and the safeguarding of the most fundamental human right, the right to live.

Every step on this road runs into the bitter resistance by those imperialist circles that are agitating for a return to the "cold war." We support without reservation the peace policy as reflected in the most recent disarmament proposals by the Soviet Union. Presented to the world public at the 18th Comsomol Congress by Leonid Brezhnev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and handed to the special session of the UN General Assembly for disarmament issues as an official document, those proposals meet with an unreserved agreement by the citizens in our country. Together with the Soviet Union and all the forces in the world that are committed to peace and progress, we advocate their implementation.

The acid test for its loyalty to the revolutionary cause of the international workers movement and its loyalty to Marxism-Leninism, for our party, is and remains its attitude toward the CPSU and the Soviet Union. This combat alliance is firm and unshakeable. It assures the GDR of a clear perspective and forms the firm foundation for all our current and future successes. The achievements and revolutionary experiences of the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries are an inexhaustible source of strength. No one will ever succeed in driving a wedge between us. In all fields our party is purposefully developing and deepening its relations with the CPSU and with the fraternal parties in the states of the socialist community.

The most striking expression of it are the friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance treaties signed between the GDR and the USSR and the other states of the socialist community. These treaties, which extend down into the next century, serve the basic interests of our people and of the entire socialist

community of states. Based on them, there develops a more high-level political, ideological, and intellectual-cultural cooperation, and socialist economic integration deepens. They are strengthening the comradeship in arms and the socialist military coalition of the Warsaw Pact states.

Our party resolutely advocates the consolidation of the unity and cohesion of the communist world movement based on Marxism-Leninism and on proletarian internationalism, and it is making an active contribution to the unity of action among all forces of socialism, the national liberation movement, and the forces of peace and democracy.

High demands are being placed on the practical and theoretical activities of our party, for it is a matter, after all, of strengthening our ideological work in order to respond to newly ripened problems brought about by the construction of socialism and communism, the decline of capitalism, the course of the revolutionary world process, and the struggle for international detente. By engaging, together with the CPSU and the other fraternal parties of the socialist countries, in extensive theoretical work, we also are strengthening the Marxist-Leninist offensive.

Whatever the workers class and all the people accomplish in the shaping of the developed socialist society, under party leadership, it also always serves the interest in further strengthening the socialist community and the revolutionary world movement. It manifests the indissoluble connection between the national and the international, between socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism. It is in this spirit that our party will continue its contribution, through the struggle for peace and international cooperation, to the freedom and independence of the peoples.

#### The Persuasive and Exemplary Strength of the Communists

It has been shown convincingly at the eighth Central Committee session and in Comrade Erich Honecker's speech before the kreis first secretaries that in the shaping of the developed socialist society higher demands result for the party's political-ideological activity from the dialectic of internal and external factors. We thereby respond to our party program requirement of "providing the workers class and all working people with the revolutionary Marxist-Leninist ideas, explaining party policy to them, developing their socialist thinking, feeling and actions, mobilizing them for the solution of the tasks and shielding them against all influences by imperialist and bourgeois ideology."<sup>6</sup>

That calls for fostering the party members' open-mindedness to the ideological issues of our time, deepening their knowledge of the social interrelations and the complexity and complicated aspects of the international class struggle and further molding their combative stance and class position in the conflict between the two opposed social systems. That enables us to make the working people still more thoroughly familiar with the strategy on which our policy is based. "That is a key problem of mass activity, inasmuch as the many and partly very complicated and contradictory daily events in our politically turbulent times categorically require the ability to correlate them properly, from a class standpoint, within larger contexts."<sup>7</sup>

A political task of high rank lies in encouraging the citizens' pride in their state, which they have shaped through their joint efforts of nearly 30 years under Marxist-Leninist party leadership. In our workers and farmers state there arose the first socialist state on German soil which, firmly anchored within the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community of states, testifies to the triumph and historic superiority of socialism over imperialism. Knowing of the course of historic development the GDR people has passed through so successfully helps deepen the realization that only under socialism can the yearnings, hopes and struggles of all the progressive, revolutionary and humanistic movements of our people find fulfillment. The study of the "SED History" outline can help deepen the knowledge of the revolutionary course taken by our party as the leading force of our society, appreciate the great achievements of the working masses in the construction of socialism, and solve successfully the current and future tasks in the implementation of the ninth party congress resolutions.

Our political mass activity has to focus on making an extensive use of the historic lessons of our struggle for coping with the present and the future and on further expanding class-bound conduct, steadfastness, and disciplined and initiative-rich actions on behalf of our joint socialist effort. The information and experiences made available by the "SED History" illuminate our revolutionary traditions and the harsh struggle for the construction of the new, socialist social order. And a red thread running through the entire outline, as it were, is this basic thought: We are the victors of history because party policy is identical with the interests of the workers class and all the people of the GDR and because the party is deeply rooted in the workers class, the working people, and knows what the working people think and feel. The meaning of socialism, to do everything for the good of the people, has become an empirical and tangible truth for the citizens in all domains of public life, which encourages their initiative and activities.

Thus our experience finds itself corroborated by revolutionary practice: Wherever the lessons in the historic curriculum of our workers and farmers state and the historic achievements of its people and the great perspectives are persuasively conveyed, where the unity and interaction between politics, ideology and economics are substantiated, and where the dialectics of our struggle are clearly explained, socialist ideas become more deeply rooted in the consciousness of the working people than ever before. Particularly in our party work, what always matters--as in all social domains--is better quality and efficiency.

Wherever the communists work they stand in the front rank in the implementation of the great tasks. They will not tolerate deficiencies and abuse. They will set an example in awareness and creativity, firmness in principle and combativeness, activity and discipline. Political-moral characteristics like that nowhere arise spontaneously; they are acquired through work, through fulfilling economic tasks, through carrying on with the shaping of the developed socialist society. Our yardstick is found in the Leninist norms as set down in the party statute. For it is so that all our experiences

confirm that the implementation of the strategy and tactics as laid down in the party program and the execution of our policy require the communists to act consciously and actively on the basis of the norms and principles set down in the party statute. An indissoluble unity therefore exists between our party's program and statute. They reflect the characteristic features of a Marxist-Leninist party in our time, its revolutionary spirit, the unity between its intentions and actions, its implacability toward bourgeois ideologies, its struggle for the shaping of the socialist social order, and its internationalist solidarity with the CPSU and the whole communist world movement.

Especially now, while faced with the communists' unity between will and deed, and in view of the successes achieved, under their leadership, by real socialism, the class enemy, under the heading of anticommunism and anti-Sovietism, has intensified his attacks against the revolutionary vanguard of the workers class. Imperialists, rightist and leftist opportunists, and revisionists of every variety are falsifying the history, policy and goals of the Marxist-Leninist parties, they are slandering them and, at the same time, are offering demagogical "recommendations" for some "improved socialism." We are not surprised about such attacks against real socialism. As always in the past, our party is armed against such attacks and well equipped for engaging in this political-ideological class conflict. The truth it is what we bring to the battle, and with it the experience the working people have had a million times, which bears out the correctness and justice of our policy: Marxist-Leninist party leadership for the workers class and all working people has turned out to be the most important factor in liberating the masses from the chains of capitalist domination and in establishing a truly human society because it is a socialist society. Under our proven party leadership, the GDR people is going to continue purposefully on the course of shaping the new society of socialism, established by the victorious workers class, advancing toward the communist future.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Cf. Engels to Gerson Trier, Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 37, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1967, p 326; "Communist Manifesto," "Werke," Vol 4, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1959, p 474.
2. Erich Honecker, "Die Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschlüsse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Party Tasks in the Further Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Decisions), Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1978, p 6.
3. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1962, p 264.
4. V. I. Lenin, "All-Russian Soviet Congress," "Werke," Vol 31, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1977, p 25.
5. Erich Honecker, "Die sozialistische Revolution in der DDR und ihre Perspektiven," Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1977, p 25.

6. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1976, p 66.
7. Erich Honecker, "Die Aufgaben . . .," op. cit., p 70.

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## EAST GERMANY

### THEORETICIAN ANALYZES 'SERIES OF TRANSITIONAL PHASES' TO COMMUNISM

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[Article by Prof Dr Otto Reinhold, member, SED Central Committee; rector, SED CC's Academy of Social Sciences; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; corresponding member, USSR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board: "On Some Theoretical Questions of Developed Socialism." See also article by and interview with the same author in the following JPRS issues of this series: 68966, 20 Apr 77, No 1380, pp 42-54; and 67774, 17 Aug 76, No 1281, pp 23-28, respectively. For additional related information see the following JPRS issues of this series: 70196, 21 Nov 77, No 1476, pp 46-57; and 67733, 10 Aug 76, No 1279, pp 22-30]

[Text] The elaboration of the theoretical and practical conclusions on developed socialism--for which the decisive foundation was laid by Marx, Engels and Lenin--is the fruit of the collective creative activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries, especially the CPSU. The proof for this, as much as the proof of the revolutionary character of our policy in the shaping of developed socialism--and thus, of creating the prerequisites for the transition to communism--plus the dynamics involved in this process, are among the main points of concern in this article.

The vitality, and thus the present-day relevance, of Marxist-Leninist theory stem from the correctness of its founders' basic insights, historically proven for over a century, from the inevitabilities they formulated, as well as their creative application to most diverse situations and their development in connection with the communist parties' revolutionary struggle in practice. Throughout its development, the communist world movement has been confronted with new questions time and time again that had to be responded to creatively on the basis of Marxist-Leninist insights confirmed by life. This is particularly true of our own times. The communist parties are facing tasks calling for a creative approach and for new answers to new questions. Among these questions no doubt are the shaping and perfecting of the developed



socialist society, the specific interlinking between the cyclical and the general crisis of capitalism, the search for reaching socialism under such conditions, the possibilities and forms of transition to socialism in the young national states, the struggle between the two world systems, the struggle for peaceful coexistence, and many others.

Among the most important achievements in the creative development of Marxism-Leninism are the theoretical and practical conclusions on the developed socialist society. They are the fruit of the collective activity of the Marxist-Leninist parties in the socialist countries, particularly the CPSU. The SED has made its own contribution to it. Indeed, this scientific answer to all those questions that have to do with the further shaping of socialist society is of first-rate importance in many respects. For one thing it forms the theoretical basis for practical policy in socialist and communist construction. And then also, the ideas about socialist society have long become the focal point in the ideological struggle between socialism and imperialism. It has become one of the chief anticommunist methods to try and oppose real socialism by sundry petty bourgeois and utopian notions of socialism.

Also for solving the tasks in the construction of developed socialism Marx and Engels laid the decisive foundation. They proved the necessary and objective inevitability of the transition from capitalism to socialism and of socialist construction. Starting from there, they formulated the conditions and most important criteria for the formation and development of the communist form of society in its two phases--socialism and communism. In this connection, their fundamental insights into the forms of economic society, the great dynamics of socialism and communism and also, of course, the historic role of the workers class and its party are of first-rate importance. In their writings such as "Das Kapital," "Anti-Duehring," and "Critique of the Gotha Programme," they also defined the basic features of what was then the future socialist and communist society. Doing so, they always were intent on not predicting any kind of details. They were always of the opinion that the concrete realization of the general inevitabilities required a given historic context.

To us today it is obvious that without Lenin's essential contribution no modern and scientifically sound idea of socialism is possible. In particular, there were two reasons enabling Lenin to develop further the Marxist ideas about socialism in his own creative way: because of the conclusions resulting from the analysis of imperialism--such as the possibility and need for constructing socialism initially in one country only--and due to the fact that under his leadership the first triumphant socialist revolution was carried out and practical experiences, throughout those early years, about the successful struggle against imperialism and about socialist construction and the defense of the revolution were gathered.

Socialist construction under the conditions of the class struggle between the two systems places higher demands all around on the state, the economy, culture, consciousness development and of course also on the leadership activity

of the Marxist-Leninist party. Under these conditions, the economy is not only the basis for social progress, for growing prosperity for the working people, but it is also the basis for the country's defense capability and the main field of confrontation between socialism and imperialism.

Lenin logically thus came to realize that under such conditions of bitter struggle between the two world systems first socialism had to be made completely solid and only then could the immediate transition to the communist phase follow. It was in that connection that he pointed out that socialism would be marked by a series of transitional phases, by the sequence of various degrees of maturation. Thereby Lenin laid the decisive corner stone for understanding the nature and criteria of developed socialism.

#### About the Nature of Developed Socialism

Based on the insights of Marx and Lenin, the CPSU, the SED and other communist parties in socialist countries have drawn the conclusion from their experiences in the construction of socialist society that after the end of the transition period, after the socialist production relations have prevailed and the political and economic foundations of socialism were laid, a longer period would be necessary for the advantages and impulses of socialism to come fully into their own. By solving that task the prerequisites are also created for growing into the communist phase.

In adopting the new USSR Constitution, Comrade L. I. Brezhnev described the nature and historic place of developed socialist society. In this stage of social development, he said, socialism has reached "such a stage of maturity that the transformation of the totality of social relations on the collective foundations inherent in socialism comes to a conclusion. This grants the fullest leeway for the laws of socialism to function and for the emergence of its advantages in all domains of public life. . . In short: Whatever the specific conditions may be in the countries constructing socialism, the phase of perfecting it on its own basis, the phase of the mature, developed socialist society, shows up as a necessary link in the chain of social transformations, as a relatively long developmental phase on the way from capitalism to communism. In this, the understanding and utilization of all possibilities of developed socialism also constitute the transition to the construction of communism. The future does not lie outside the present sphere, it lies in the present's womb. And in solving the tasks of the socialist present, we are entering, step by step, the communist morrow."<sup>1</sup> Those conclusions wholly conform with the insights formulated in the SED program when it talks about the shaping of the developed socialist society and the gradual transition to communism.

By drawing general conclusions from the practical experiences in socialist and communist construction, the theoretical work of the CPSU, the SED and other parties in the socialist countries addresses itself at such basic questions as that of the historic place of the developed socialist society within the process of the formation of communist society, that of the criteria of developed socialism, the dialectics of the two phases and so forth.

Many theoretical conclusions with respect to structuring the various domains of public life have in the meantime been drawn and formulated on the basis of these fundamental scientific data. In them are included the economic criteria for the developed socialist society, the main task in shaping developed socialism, the organic combination between the scientific-technical revolution and the advantages of socialism, the characteristic features of the socialist way of life and so forth.

At the eighth SED Central Committee session and at his conference with the SED kreis first secretaries in February this year, Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized that our party has always applied the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory creatively to the concrete historic conditions in our country. From that position the Ninth SED Congress decided on the party program, which determines the next strategic target of our activity--the continued shaping of the developed socialist society, whereby to create the fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. "With the triumph of the socialist production relations and with establishing the foundations of socialism, important achievements had been made, but the construction of socialism was thereby of course not concluded. Primarily in accordance with the eighth and ninth party congress decisions we undertook the shaping of the developed socialist society. That no doubt is an extensive revolutionary process. As experience has shown, we have to solve tasks in this stage of our history that are by no means less complicated and require no less revolutionary zeal than those that we did solve up to the victory of the socialist production relations."<sup>2</sup>

#### About the Revolutionary Character of Our Policy

With reference to the revolutionary character of the shaping of the developed socialist society and to the socialist revolution and its perspectives in the GDR, a number of theoretical conclusions of fundamental importance are being emphasized. This evidently touches mainly on three aspects of our current activity.

First the point is being made thereby that the shaping as well as the subsequent perfecting of developed socialism amount not merely to quantitative, evolutionary, but to qualitative changes. In the outcome of the transition period in the GDR up to the beginning of the 1960's, the foundations of socialism were of course laid. That included above all the political rule by the workers class and the public ownership in the decisive means of production. But continuing socialist construction in no way means that those foundations are simply being used in one way or another. Rather, they only form an initial basis from which numerous other elements in all domains of public life have to be developed and created so that one can finally say socialism has been formed fully and all-inclusively, and its advantages and impulses are brought fully into effect in the interest of society. It is wholly in this sense that the SED program states that the shaping of the developed socialist society is a process of penetrating economic, social, political and intellectual-cultural transformations.

The victory of the socialist production relations does not yet mean that the material-technical base and the economic potential had thereby been realized which would insure increasingly satisfying the working people's growing material and intellectual-cultural needs at a high level. What is truly socialist in character has thereby not yet come to prevail in all public relations inside and outside of the production process. It rather is the case that on that basis the socialist way of life only begins to come strongly into play and socialist democracy expands to the fullest.

In other words: The end of the transition period means that domestically the question of "who - whom?" is finally decided in favor of the workers class and its allies, whereby the decisive foundations of socialist society are laid. This presents the initial point for its getting extensively shaped, for its full development. Only on that basis can those tasks be solved. Neither the founders of Marxism-Leninism nor the communist parties in the socialist countries ever entertained such a mechanistic or utopian notion that the public ownership in the means of production per se would guarantee that the advantages of socialism would thereby come into their own fully and automatically, however much bourgeois critics of socialism may insinuate that that was our thought. To come to the point that the meaning of socialism is fully effective and that all the preconditions exist for raising all working people's material and intellectual standard of living onto increasingly higher levels can only be the outcome of arduous efforts and of social developmental processes advancing farther.

A second aspect has to be stressed which expresses the revolutionary character of socialist construction at present. The number of tasks is growing, the successful solution of which simultaneously leads to the creation of fundamental prerequisites for the gradual transition to communism. One of the most important practical experiences and theoretical conclusions is the scientifically established realization that a higher development of socialism at once prepares and, later on, practically accomplishes the growing into the communist phase by the socialist.

From the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism, in one sense it is an evolutionary process since there exists no Chinese Wall between the two phases and no revolutionary transformation of political power relations is called for. This growing into the communist phase takes place on the basis of those political power and property relations that were created during the transition period from capitalism to socialism. The dialectic in this development lies in this: not their elimination but--quite on the contrary--their solidification becomes the condition for those fundamental transformations in public life that the SED program is talking about.

And then again this is a deeply revolutionary process because in it especially qualitative changes are made the historic importance and effect of which cannot be overrated. For after all, not only an extraordinary development of the productive forces is to be accomplished by the development of the material-technical base, but a level is required that makes possible the solution of problems such as overcoming the essential differences between town and

countryside, and between physical and mental work, the rapprochement, and eventually the surmounting, of the social distinctions among the classes and social strata, and ultimately the transition from the principle of "each according to his abilities--each according to his performance" to the principle "each according to his abilities--each according to his needs." Needed is not only a systematic growth in socialist consciousness but the kind of growth where work--and that means skilled and efficient work--becomes a vital need. The transformation of work into a vital need is of course not only, and not even primarily, an ideological problem. Decisive for that are the material conditions, the socialist shaping of working conditions--reducing heavy physical and monotonous work, enriching its creative elements, development of social relations in production, fostering the right climate in industry, developing socialist democracy and so forth.

For all these reasons, Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized in his speech to the SED kreis first secretaries that during this stage in socialist construction we have to cope with tasks that are no less complicated, and require no less revolutionary zeal, than those that we had to cope with in the transition period. That also is the reason why the CPSU, the SED and the other parties in the socialist countries start from the strategy consideration that the shaping and perfecting of the developed socialist society will, historically considered, take a long time.

A third aspect of the revolutionary character of our activity is obvious. The shaping of developed socialism--the further perfecting of it, in the Soviet Union--is a decisive and ultimately the crucial factor for the development of the revolutionary world process at the present. In the dictatorship of the proletariat, the leadership role of the workers class and its party, and the public ownership in the means of production, the superiority and humanistic character of socialism finds its foundation and sources. Through the shaping of the developed socialist society this superiority is brought practically to realization. The real increase in the strength of socialism incurred this way, the ever more visible fact that socialism alone is in the position to solve the vital problems of our time and insure social security and material and cultural well-being for all working people, today is the decisive factor in the change of the international balance of power.

International influence is of course no one-way street. The existence and aggressive policy of imperialism force us into pitting an important scientific-technical, economic, political and intellectual-cultural potential of strength against it. The relentless struggle between socialism and imperialism affects all spheres of public life. And this involves the complicated problems arising for our economy from the crisis of the capitalist world economy as well as the fact that the socialist way of life can emerge of course only while inseparably connected with the struggle between the two systems. That means, in other words, not only does real socialism affect the revolutionary world process but, also the other way around, the revolutionary world process just as deeply affects the course, the yardsticks and criteria, and of course also the phases and deadlines, of socialist construction and the growth process of the socialist into the communist phase. The revolutionary character of our policy and activity thus is a multilayered and diversified process.

## Dynamic Development On Our Own Foundation

In summarizing the results of the scientific work, we may, regarding our practical and theoretical activity, proceed from a number of fundamental conclusions. The first conclusion is this: Developed socialist society means socialism now is developing on its own foundation. Our own foundation means in this connection that--as Comrade L. I. Brezhnev put it when he explained the new USSR Constitution--the formation of the collective foundations of socialism reaches its conclusion. And this involves not merely the socialist property relations but the socialist character of the social relations within and outside the production process altogether. This creates, domestically, the socioeconomic prerequisites for making the laws of social development, especially the economic laws, fully and completely effective. This creates the internal preconditions for developing socialism further on this basis so that all its possibilities can be used in the interest of the working people and the meaning of socialism can be fully established. After this developmental level of socialist society is reached, then, among other things, the question arises how these socioeconomic foundations, the social relations, the organization and management of the economy and society and other domains of public life have to be structured so that the economic laws can be made to work completely in the practical realm as well. It then becomes apparent that overall social conditions will now determine more and more that the economic laws work and that they are fully used in the interest of society.

There is a growing influence, on the one hand, of the material-technical base. The eighth Central Committee session has emphatically pointed out that a basic condition for dynamic economic growth lies in insuring our raw material and fuel base and our rational utilization of our raw materials and fuels. In the course of the 1970's, the weight of material consumption within the social reproduction process has grown significantly. That alone produces new relations between the material-technical base and economic growth. Other influences stem from the need to insure an ecological equilibrium.

And then the working of the economic laws is more and more affected by social and ideological factors. And here a problem comes to the fore more and more that has to do with the specifics, with the historical place of the developed socialist society in the formation process of communist society. Already has our successful economic and social policy brought it about that social security is absolutely assured for all working people, that a high degree of social comfort is provided and the material standard of living is raised onto a high level. That, however, means, that along with the purely material factors, more and more other circumstances become highly important, such as the operational climate, the working culture, the relations within the collective, the chances for personal development, the extent of actual leisure and the chances for structuring it and similar values.

The principle of material interestedness in its various forms is one of the basic principles of the economic and social development of socialism, a condition for the transition to communism. Its full development and its comprehensive effectiveness are inseparably connected at once with social, political and ideological factors.

The development of social relations and of working and living conditions in the enterprises and combines, as much as in the territories, the diverse social ties, and the development of socialist democracy in conjunction with intellectual-cultural development are factors of the first rank for providing the working people with an excellent quality of life as well as for the working and full utilization of the economic laws. That the weight of these factors is going to grow further in the future cannot be subject to doubt.

The second conclusion: Socialist society is marked by great dynamics. To communist society, especially to its first, socialist phase, applies Marx' remark that society "is not a solid crystal but a transformable and constantly transforming organism."<sup>3</sup> Friedrich Engels formulated that thought later, in 1890, in a letter to Otto von Boenigk, where he predicted that socialism "is not a thing that is complete for once and for all but must be conceived, like all other social conditions, as being in the process of constant change and transformation."<sup>4</sup>

This idea of dynamics, as formulated by Marx and Engels, of the steadily upward development of socialist society, is basic to all of the SED's policy in shaping the developed socialist society in the GDR. This dynamic upward trend embraces the productive forces and production relations as well as the classes and social relations and all other domains of public life too. This dynamic, our constantly upward development, is the condition and essential criterion in our society. From it especially derives a broad field for the creative activities of all working people, for the development of their abilities and talents. And this also creates new demands for the management and planning of the economy and the society as well as for their members.

Socialism makes possible and requires not merely a temporary but a systematic and steady growth of the working people's material and intellectual-cultural standard of living. A policy focusing on that, however, would not be possible without a policy for economic growth in service to the people. The tempo of economic growth determines not only the real possibilities for a social policy, it also creates the material basis for the development of education and culture and for shaping the natural environment and the other domains of public life. The material-technical base requires not only more and better technology, more and better basic assets, but it requires a structure that will make possible the further rapprochement between physical and mental work and between town and countryside. The moral-political unity of the people can be created and consolidated only if the workers class gains more of a social influence and the rapprochement between the classes and social strata is brought about. That in turn requires the systematic and upward development of the socialist character of labor--for instance by the gradual transition to industrialized production methods in agriculture--, the deepening of social relations and, finally, the formation of the socialist way of life.

The struggle for the working people's all round development of all their facilities, the practical realization of the educational goals of the socialist state, introduces great changes. At present, for example, more than 60 percent of all workers and employees has at least gone through the 10-grade poly-technical secondary school curriculum, graduating with a completed vocational training. Soon it will be 80 and more percent. This means the workers class today already differs in various respects from the workers class in the late 1960's--as much as it is going to differ from the one in the 1980's. No area of public life exists where socialism could be compatible with a stand-still.

It means high demands are being made above all on the management and structuring of this dynamics by the party and the socialist state. You do not need to be a specialist to understand that an economy which produces an annual national income of M 180 billion or even 200 billion cannot be managed like the one at the time when the total value of production did not exceed M 30 or 40 billion. The intensively expanded reproduction of the economy, as compared with extensive expansion, places qualitatively new demands on management. The qualitative factors of the reproduction process become the central point in management activity. Likewise, higher demands of necessity result for the party's leadership over the workers class from the rapidly increasing educational level of the workers and employees. In other words: If the management and organization of this dynamics is to succeed, management and planning too will have to develop further.

Imperialist and social democratic ideologues of the right have always tried very hard to slander the perfecting of management, planning and economic stimulation of the economy either as a weakness or a failure of our management system up to now. Following the eighth SED Central Committee session, the FRG's bourgeois mass media have again engaged in much activity in that direction.

The truth is that the management system would become inefficient if it were not to be perfected and further developed in line with objective requirements. The strength of socialism precisely lies in that such perfecting of management does not run into the resistance by certain classes or social groups. The matter is discussed with the working people, and then it is taken care of in the interest of all society. The formation and further organization of the industrial combines, the systematic development of the socialist character of labor, the development of relations between industry and agriculture--all this means that everything is being done, wholly in the sense of Marx, Engels and Lenin, to make the impulses of the socialist production relations fully effective and make them constantly again conform with the character of the productive forces. The organization of the economy and the society, as well as the participation by the working people and the effective forms of it, can and must be further developed in this connection. It is a sure thing that it was not the last time at its eighth session that the SED Central Committee concerned itself with changes in the management system.



A third conclusion: Developed socialist society requires a systematic and proportionate development of all domains of public life. Forming the proper interaction among the various spheres of society gives rise to decisive advantages and impulses of socialism. The dialectical connection between scientific-technical progress, economic growth and social and intellectual-cultural progress, and between the objective and the subjective, and so forth are the kind of factors through the proper connection and interchange of which the socialist society gets its stability, maturity and upward development. The growth of economic efficiency controls the margin of social policy. But equally important is the question how, in which way and to what extent the social policy that is being implemented is translated into increased social activity by the working people. Successes in economic and social policy do strengthen the confidence in one's own capacity and they confirm that the road taken was the right one, yet they do not by that token lead automatically--without the people understanding the essential interconnections behind their experiences--to an upward trend in the development of all working people's consciousness and socialist way of life. Expanding the investment activity in the economy does not mechanically lead to a further development in the socialist character of labor. From that there are bound to arise any kind of problems and contradictions. The already referred to rapid improvement of education in the working class objectively stands in contradiction to the fact that, for instance, the amount of physical and even heavy physical labor is still large in industry. This contradiction, however, makes it all the more incumbent upon us to make efforts to change the substance of labor there, reduce monotonous and heavy physical labor and foster creative forms of labor. On the one hand this means we are dealing with a contradiction here that results objectively from the development of socialism. On the other hand, party policy aims at making use of this contradiction as a social impulse.

Certainly, the shaping of the developed socialist society knows only of non-antagonistic contradictions. They can, however, be objectively conditioned as well as subjectively. The riper the socialist society is, the more the objectively conditioned ones, that is, the objective conditions that come from the "normal" development of socialism, come to the fore.

Nothing is more practical than a correct theory. That applies not only to Marxism-Leninism as such but in particular also to the theoretical understanding of the developed socialist society. That constitutes a firm foundation for successfully fulfilling the Ninth SED Congress resolutions. Wholly in this sense Comrade Erich Honecker emphasized at the eighth Central Committee session: "At the ninth party congress we have explained why the further shaping of the developed socialist society places growing demands on the party's theoretical work. It is thus important always to interpret the penetrating political, economic, social and intellectual-cultural changes in this process in the light of Marxist-Leninist theory, to provide answers to the new questions of life and derive conclusions from them for our continuing advances."<sup>5</sup>

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Leonid Ilyich Brezhnev, "The Soviet People--The Creator of Its New Constitution," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 6 October 1977, p 3.
2. Erich Honecker, "Die Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Verwirklichung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Party Tasks in the Further Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions), Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1978, p 8.
3. Karl Marx, "Das Kapital," Vol I, Preface to the first edition, Marx/Engels, "Werke" (Works), Vol 23, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1962, p 16.
4. Friedrich Engels' letter to Otto von Boenigk, Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 37, Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1967, p 447.
5. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 8. Tagung des Zentralkomitees der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Eighth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1978, pp 42 f.

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EAST GERMANY

ROLE OF STATE ORGANS IN CLASS-STRATA RAPPROCHEMENT DISCUSSED

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[Article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Weichelt, jurist, director, Institute for Theory of State and Law, GDR Academy of Sciences: "The Political Organization of Our Socialist Society and the Role of the State." For related information see the following JPRS issues of this series: 68886, 6 Apr 77, No 1375, pp 94-102; and 68586, 7 Feb 77, pp 12-23]

[Text] The nature of our society's political organization is described in this article, and it is being shown how, under SED leadership, the socialist workers and farmers state fosters the conscious, systematic and coordinated actions of all political forces and how there is an objective growth of conformity in the interests of the classes and strata as well as of the awareness that such a conformity exists. The article demonstrates that this purposeful and close cooperation among all elements of the socialist society's political organization is an important condition for further perfecting socialist democracy and for the all-round strengthening of the socialist state.

Our party program summarizes our tasks in the further development of the proven cooperation between the SED, the leading political force of socialist society, and the friendly parties and mass organizations for the further strengthening of socialist state power and the tasks in boosting the activities of the social mass organizations of the working peoples and their work collectives. This is done in a separate section that deals with the political organization of the developed socialist society. The systematic and purposefully interlocking cooperation among all the organized forces of society, under working class party leadership, forms an essential and characteristic feature in the development of the political relations on behalf of the further shaping of the developed socialist society. It conforms to the developmental status achieved and to the developmental requirements of the economic and social relations in the GDR.

## On the Nature of Political Organization in Our Society

The political organization of socialism reflects the differentiated and, simultaneously, in its social objective and developmental trend, uniform organization of society as it forms within the process of the socialist transformation of society and keeps becoming more perfect throughout the progressive development of socialism into communism. Our society's political organization embraces the system of social and state organizations and institutions. Through it, the GDR workers class under SED leadership implements its political power, fortifies its alliance with the other working classes and strata, directs the systematic development of socialist society, insures its reliable protection and molds the socialist relations between the society, the collectives and the individual working people.

Among the political organizations in the GDR are: The SED, the party of the workers class and all the working people, the core of political organization, the task of which consists in "politically directing the social development in the GDR based on the principle of scientific strategy and tactics"<sup>1</sup>; the state as the chief instrument of the working people, led by the workers class, for shaping the developed socialist society and proceeding toward communism; the friendly parties (DBD, CDU, LDPD, NDPD), which are recognizing the leadership role of the workers class and its party and are playing a significant role in attracting and activating certain strata of the people on behalf of the practical solution of the tasks of socialist construction; the working people's mass organizations (FDGB, FDJ, DFD, DTSB, DSF, Culture League, and cooperatives), which represent the interests of the working people, are an important school for the political education of the masses and involve them, in accordance with their differentiated interests, in the solution of the social tasks; the National Front of the GDR, a socialist people's movement in which the members of the parties and mass organizations as well as unaffiliated citizens are active; the trade and other voluntary associations of the working people, especially in the fields of science and culture (chamber of technology, artists' associations, the league of architects, "Urania," and others); the work collectives in the enterprises and facilities and the many volunteer groups of citizens (sales outlet commissions, parents activist groups and parents advisory councils, traffic safety activist groups and so forth); and the system for legal and social standards, which regulates and develops the political relations forming within the political organization and insures its stability and the implementation of its functions within society.

In its entirety the political organization is an instrument and active organizing tool for the socialist transformation of society and its further development because it is the organization for the creative activity of the working masses, the organization for the comradely cooperation among the various classes and strata of socialist society.

Precisely this close and confident cooperation of all classes, strata and social groups, all democratic parties and organizations, and of all the people of diverse world-outlooks and denominations is what has been an essential

mark of the SED's successful alliance policy throughout the last three decades of the emergence and growth of our republic. Represented, from the outset, in the power organs of the socialist state, firmly anchored in the system of our society's political organization, the alliance partners of the workers class, under workers class leadership, have made and are making a steadily growing contribution to the further strengthening and consolidation of our socialist workers and farmers state. This is not a spontaneous process but one that evolves under the leadership by the workers class party and based on the principles of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and the ideals of the workers class. New forms of living together developed in this process, of confident sharing and mutual aid. A community of fundamental socioeconomic, political and ideological interests emerged among the classes and strata. And on this basis their continuing social rapprochement proceeds and the political-moral unity of the people congeals. But that also means that the political organization of socialism itself is subjected to a steady process of development that conforms to the development of the socioeconomic base of socialist society and is a political reflection of it while it at once affects and encourages the continued shaping of the socialist social relations.

Certain developmental trends in the political organization of socialism become more pronounced in the shaping of the developed socialist society. They can become more effective in their entirety by deliberate promotion and use. What is it that is involved here?

The process of the gradual rapprochement between the working classes and strata which is going on under the unrestrained rule and systematic development of the socialist production relations in all economic fields embraces not only their material and social production conditions but also the political relations among the working classes and strata, the rapprochement in their political-moral thinking and acting. The workers class ideals and the scientific theory of Marxism-Leninism increasingly turn into the ideological orientation of all classes and strata. With it grows the realization that all working people's basic interests coincide and are identical with the goal of the workers class struggle. This expresses one of the crucial advantages of socialism which makes possible and fosters the systematic cooperation and coordinated actions by all the political forces in socialist society and focuses on a further systematic consolidation of the socialist production conditions and living conditions.

This kind of identity of interests between the ruling class and the people's masses, hence, between the state and the people's masses, or even a tendency in that direction, is excluded, from the outset, and objectively impossible, in the exploiter society because of its class antagonism. Imperialism and its ideologists are actively trying to create the illusion of a "higher" social community of interests, or at least a balancing of interests by a state that would, allegedly, be neutral in terms of classes. They are seeking to do this by propagating a sort of "people's community" or a pluralistically constructed model. Much as they are trying, however, to integrate the workers movement, in toto or partly, with the government mechanism, the basic contradiction in interests between the exploiters and the exploited keeps breaking

open in the practical affairs in which the society and government are run. And the political organization in capitalist society is always split between the monopolies' political government system, on the one side, and, on the other side, the political organizations of the working masses which can make their own interests prevail only against that system, which ultimately means the elimination of that system. In the political organization of that order of society the state is a firm element within the monopolies' system of political domination, their most important instrument for maintaining their capitalist relations of exploitation and suppression. And nothing could or can be changed in the nature of that kind of state power by any election successes the workers parties might have or even by appointing workers party representatives to executive government functions.

There can be no agreement in fundamental class interests between exploiters and the exploited. The monopoly capitalist exploitation system opposes the fulfillment of the working people's crucial and vital interests, mainly their interest in social security. A basic trend in the development of the imperialist system of government therefore is that the gap between it and the people's masses is getting wider all the time, and that it is becoming less and less able to solve the real problems of society and of its development, and that the contradictions are sharpening within the entire political organization of capitalist society.

Socialism eliminates that antagonism by eliminating the exploitation of man by man and the economic foundations for it, whereby it destroys the political power of the bourgeoisie, the social base and buttress of that exploitation relation. The substance in the government policy and of the work of all the political organization in socialist society are the interests of the working people, the interests of the workers class and the concomitant basic interests of the working farmers and the other working strata. Based on this community of interests there arises the real possibility to get hold of the overall social interests resulting from objective requirements and social objectives and to implement the tasks stemming from there by purposeful, coordinated and systematic action. Through the development of socialism and the concomitant change in the social situation of the working classes and strata, this community of interests grows objectively. What is by no means less important is the awareness that this community of interests exists is growing also.

Naturally, in our developmental stage of socialism, and along with out basically common and identical fundamental social interests, there are also specific differences in interests within the working classes and strata themselves as well as in terms of those that are taken account of by party and state policy when it concretely determines its overall social tasks. They then do not lead to social conflicts and contradictions.

The growing realization that there is this identity of interests in the fundamental issues of the political, economic, social and cultural life of society informs the political organization of socialism with the trend of increasingly coordinated, common and purposeful activities by all elements.

It also expresses itself in that the social activities of the masses are increasing: in socialist competition, in its qualitative targets, in the rationalizer and innovator movement, in the various citizens' volunteer organizations in the residential areas, in the implementation of the tasks in territorial rationalization, in the mass movement for exemplary order, discipline and safety, in the close cooperation between scientists and work collectives in production for more rapidly introducing scientific-technical innovations and in innumerable other forms. In view of such growing and increasingly more purposeful work by the working people, the worn out yet unabashedly reiterated anticommunist propaganda formula about socialism's allegedly being a "totalitarian regime" becomes absolutely ridiculous. No other power in the world would be in the position to produce such voluntary mass activity by means of force or pressure. It, rather, springs from the nature of socialist society, where the interests of the working masses form the substance of state policy, a policy their own lives make them feel time and time again that it is the correct one.

#### Perfecting of Socialist Democracy--Important Source for Social Progress

"The manifold forms of the citizens' participation in the management of the state and the economy is increasingly becoming the crucial criterion of life in socialism."<sup>2</sup> Increasingly conscious mass activities reflecting live socialist democracy is an inexhaustible source of strength in social progress. To develop it and make it meaningfully effective is among our party's program targets and an essential task in the political organization of socialist society. It is important to make ever more extensive use of the proven forms of active mass participation in the management and extension of social progress, potentials owned only by socialism, and to find ways how these diverse activities, under proven working class party leadership, can be better coordinated and extended farther. A purposeful and close cooperation among all elements in the political organization of socialist society is an important condition, is among the steps toward further perfecting socialist democracy.

The introduction of new scientific data in production in many enterprises has led to lasting and quick results because this did not remain merely a matter of concern to state management. When state managers, labor union organizations, the youth organization, and deputies of the people's representations working in the enterprise, and under the leadership by the enterprise party organization, worked in uniformity and in accordance with a unified concept and by means of division of labor, and when they then also developed a close cooperation with the managements and collectives of the appropriate science institutions, the fulfillment of the tasks in the science and technology plan became a matter of skilled democratic activity. Each individual found his ideas and energy challenged and encouraged thereby.

Such a procedure necessarily led to confrontation with manifestations of wanting to hold on to what had always been done there, to subjectivist notions, indifference and departmental narrow-mindedness. Thereby the thinking of all

participants was focused on economic interconnections, and their sense of social responsibility was strengthened. The state decisions necessary were considered in every way, made at the proper time, and effectively carried out, and an effective influence was brought to bear on the competent managers so that they would fully carry out their personal responsibilities. This confirms the principle stressed by Erich Honecker at the eighth SED Central Commission session where he said: ". . . always combining the explanation of our policy and the answers given to questions raised by the population with a responsible and disciplined execution of the decisions from the party and the people's representations. That implies rigid state order and resolute struggle for fully assuming personal responsibility in any given area."<sup>3</sup>

The same is borne out by the experiences in the struggle for abiding by, and implementing, socialist legality. Likewise, in the territorial rationalization in the towns, kreises and communities visible results can always be found wherever, led by the local party organizations and people's representations, the specialized council organs and the social mass organizations activate and organize the citizens for solving the economic plan tasks by division of labor and in line with joint and concrete concepts. Experience shows these are by no means processes that could possibly be coped with by administrative organizational measures alone, for instance. Bringing enterprises together within the territory, for instance, so that they will make a better use of transportation capacities, the reduction of unproductive empty runs, the more rational utilization of the basic assets altogether, setting up joint facilities for vocational training, for a coordinated use of material and funds allocated by the plan, and direct improvements in the population's living conditions--all that calls for intensive political-ideological work.

Territorial rationalization, when one comes right down to it, amounts to the issue of organizing and insuring a coordinated and complex economic and social development in the territory, the practical implementation of the party's economic and social policy, oriented toward a uniform overall development of the republic. That is the reason why here also applies the need to making the social requirements which are crystallized in the party decisions more and more inform thoughts and actions in that a field of vision is expanded beyond one's own enterprise, town or circle to aim at overall social effects and a good atmosphere is created for the cooperation of all who are involved in plan implementation.<sup>4</sup> It implies a close cooperation among the central state organs, the local councils and the economic management organs. The "secret" of the creative activity initiated by territorial rationalization in many towns and kreises, among other things, lies in that the measures for directly improving the working people's living conditions are thoroughly discussed prior to their enactment by the local people's representations in talks between the deputies and the enterprise work collectives and in the residential areas and the social mass organizations, where careful thought is given to the pro and con and, if possible, the specific contributions by all participating collectives are considered; the feasibility of projects and propositions is discussed frankly and in concrete terms from the outset;



and the capacities and funds of the enterprises and of the local state organs are invested in a concentrated manner, with regard to priorities, and an effective, purposeful and coordinated realization of tasks set down is organized and insured.

Long-term developmental concepts for certain areas of economic and public life originated in this way in Dresden and other cities--with the participation of numerous specialists, the pertinent standing commissions of the people's representations and the social organizations. The city-district assemblies in Dresden, for instance, together with the city-district commissions of the National Front decided on that basis on complex plans of operation, financially and materially guaranteed, for the modernization, repair and maintenance of housing, the expansion and reconstruction of repair and service facilities and so forth. Wherever one proceeds purposefully and by division of labor, under party leadership, involving the working people and their social organizations in long-term concepts of this kind, and where the effectiveness of that kind of cooperation, its positive results, becomes visible, not only the citizens' readiness for active participation will grow but also the social benefit derived from their activities.

All these manifestations of everyday life in socialism demonstrate that a closer, more systematic and coordinated cooperation between the state organs and social mass organizations on behalf of a more purposeful development of the working people's initiative and creative energies, under party leadership, has increasingly become the determining developmental trend of state management and, moreover, of all the political organization of socialism altogether. This taps important energies for the continued successful shaping of the developed socialist society and shows how the perfecting of socialist democracy asserts itself as the main trend in the development of the socialist state while it also marks the development the political organization of socialism in its entirety.

#### The All Round Strengthening of the Socialist State

This social activity of the masses it is, increasing in scope, expertise and political judgment capability, which channels more and more new capacities into the social organizations and strengthens their influence on state management, which also, the other way around, ties the socialist workers and farmers state ever more closely to the masses, implanting it ever more strongly within the totality of the society's formative political capacities. In conjunction with the steadily improving skill in state management and planning work, its complexity, its scientifically qualified prescriptive allocations and its rational organization, this then is the decisive process for strengthening and solidifying it as the main instrument for making the new society ever more perfect. The strengthening and consolidation of the socialist state, it must be remembered, by no means lies in having more and more areas of public life and of the personal life of the citizens fall under "state administration and regulation"--however much anticommunist propaganda may claim this to be the case. If we say that the main trend in the development of socialist state power lies in the further expansion of socialist

democracy, the whole point then is that the socialist state, due to its particular class character, ever more extensively realizes the immediate social interests and goals of the workers class and all other working people while working it all out together with the working people, to the extent that the growing material possibilities of socialist society permit it. This is as convincingly being conveyed by the goal and content of our party's economic and social policy--which is also aimed at further consolidating the workers and farmers power and at developing the scientific, intellectual and cultural potentials of our society--as by the fact that the involvement of the working people in the elaboration and implementation of these tasks is becoming more and more skillful and effective.

To bourgeois political theories, which make the capitalist exploiter system and its social objects appear as the "normal order of the world" embellishing it with a concomitant claim to eternity, misrepresenting the class antagonism of that society as a more or less harmless contest among various rivaling groups and individual interests, above and beyond which there allegedly thrones a state that is neutral in terms of classes, a referee equalizing it all, as it were, this development of the socialist state and of the total political organization of socialism is a phenomenon they could not possibly understand because of their class position. They are denying that the working people's basic interests could be identical and that the socialist state represents and implements these identical basic interests. This is one of the key issues in the current ideological class conflict in the theory of state. These professional scholars in their "Eastern" research are doing what they can in seeking to discover conflicts of interests in the socialist countries between the party and the people's masses, between the party and the working class, between the mass organizations, within the working class, between it and other working people or wherever, in order to discredit the socialist state and its policy. The purpose of it is, on the one hand, to deflect from the misery of their own capitalist order, the disintegration of bourgeois legality and the social effects of the current crisis. On the other hand, anticommunist propaganda aims at gaining influence in the socialist countries and countering socialism's increasing power of international radiation.

Ultimately all these maneuvers are bound to fail because the successful construction of the developed socialist society has set in motion penetrating social processes accompanied by the objectively growing identity of the basic interests of all working classes and strata with the interests of the workers class and, above all, by the masses' increasing awareness of this identity which has become irreversible.

The working people's identical basic interests in the safeguarding of peace, social security and safety, the people's power of disposition over the means of production and so forth are the very interests the socialist state has to enforce against imperialism's attempts at restoring the old conditions. And precisely because the political-moral unity of the people is growing, and with it its activity and willingness to protect the socialist achievements,

imperialism leaves nothing untried in disturbing, as best it can, by means of ideological diversion and in other ways, the cooperation among all working people under the leadership of the workers class and its party and the growing relationship of confidence between the state and the citizens in socialism.

From these dialectical interconnections between internal and external developmental conditions and processes, high requirements result for state management activity, above all its political-ideological work. For the objective identity of basic interests does not automatically lead to their being comprehended, nor to a common, purposive and aware action on the part of all social forces. It must continually be determined in concrete terms and brought to the awareness of the masses when the tasks in the various areas of public life are set and solved, for instance on a communal level, and always in conformity with requirements and possibilities. Only then can it act as a stimulus for joint action. In organizing and directing this process lies one of the chief functions in the entire system of political organization in socialist society.

The elaboration of the identical basic interests in any concrete form in which they may appear is a comprehensive and penetrating process of objective analysis, discussion and public opinion molding, in which all elements in the political organization take part in accordance with their specific social functions. What is decisive here is that on the basis of the objective social requirements and the partly diverse and specific interests it will be determined what they all have in common, and that this is then turned into the criterion for social activity. This is not a matter of "balancing interests" but of creating awareness for what is socially necessary, of developing a sense of social responsibility, of taking an active influence on the realization and formation of interests. That implies a knowledge of how to explain and justify why some projects or others cannot at once be taken on, for example, when they might require additional investments. "Nice as it would be to build all that seems desirable in some town or community, every state and economic manager yet is necessarily and categorically faced with the demand primarily to fulfill the plan and work with the highest discipline regarding the plan and the finances."<sup>5</sup>

Here socialist democracy at once appears in its political form in which, through the objective discussion of the tasks facing the society and the practical experiences in taking part in arriving at new realizations, deeper insights are formed into objective social interconnections while prejudices, old bourgeois notions about society, state and democracy, are done away with. The more skillfully this entire process is organized in content and form, and the better the participating organizations and institutions meet their specific functions and responsibilities under the aspect of the system's overall task, the more effectively that process will be organized.

Especially important here is the work of the people's representations and their deputies. Through their composition, the people's representations embody the entire political organization of socialist society in state form. Through the people's representations and their organs, the workers class

implements its leadership role in society and its extensive alliance policy through state funds. In the people's representations the varied experiences, ideas, suggestions and recommendations of the working people flow together, which are as indispensable to them in preparing their decisions as are their accurate computations and analyses of funds, means and possibilities available. The laws and decrees of the people's representations and the other legal regulations issued for implementation purposes are setting down the most important tasks in bringing the social interests to realization and the demands on the attitudes, the rights, duties, and competencies binding for all. From that, not last, also results the great social responsibility of the people's representations and their commission.

The deputies' authority has risen further, mainly in the enterprises, but also in the election districts and residential areas, thanks to their active, expert and politically sound discussions with the working people of territorial developmental problems, their integrating these problems within the overall economic context, and the concrete counsel they have offered on the real possibilities and prerequisites that, for the sake of reaching solutions, may be created and ought to be expected of society at large, of each individual and each collective. Regular conferences with plant chiefs and the deputies working in the enterprise about how to combine industrial with territorial developmental problems, and the appearance of the deputies before trade union meetings to discuss such matters, have been found as useful as getting together with the council deputies of the residential area commissions of the National Front and in housing communities.

Experience also has shown that wherever the deputies and the standing commissions of the people's representations manage to involve the social organizations in the solution of their tasks by drawing on their specific responsibilities, their own work will become more effective, the organization of the social activities will become more rational, and much duplication can be avoided. That kind of procedure finally also brings it about that in the conferences of the people's representations problems can be discussed and decided in more concrete terms and yet, more generally, under the aspect of realizing overall social targets.

Intensive interaction also has been revealed between providing state management with greater skills in the analysis of all the necessary prerequisites for solving any given concrete tasks and the rational organization of their implementation, on the one side, and the further development of social mass activities, the development of an effective and purposeful cooperation between the state organs, the social organizations and the citizens, on the other. The unity of these two sides reflects the perfecting of socialist democracy as the main thrust in the development of the socialist state. Only by simultaneously perfecting both sides of this unified process can one get to an ever deeper rooting of the state in society, in the totality of the mass activities aimed at the shaping of socialism and communism, characteristic as it is of developed socialism, as that process itself encourages those activities and purposefully organizes them under working class party leadership and jointly with all social forces.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1976, p 65.
2. Ibid., p 41.
3. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Aus dem Bericht des Politbueros an die 8. Tagung des ZK der SED" (From the Politburo Report to the Eighth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1978, pp 39-40.
4. Cf. Willi Stoph "Sound Planning Results By Working People Initiative," "8. Tagung des ZK der SED" (Eighth SED Central Committee Session), p 80.
5. Gunter Mittag, "Ninth Party Congress Decisions Are Persistently Being Implemented," Ibid., p 116.

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## EAST GERMANY

### SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 33 No 7/8, Jul-Aug 78 signed to press  
14 Jun 78 'For Documentation' addendum

#### Creative Initiative of the Masses-Socialism's Source of Power

[Summary of article by Harry Tisch, member, SED Central Committee Politburo; chairman, Free German Trade Union Federation (FDGB); pp 692-699]

[Text] The mass initiatives in preparation of the 30th anniversary of the GDR aim at high results in socialist competition. Their variety and breadth reflect the variety and concreteness of the tasks that have to be solved. Especially because of that they effectively contribute to the unified struggle for maximizing the effectiveness and quality of labor. Aiming initiatives at elaborating demanding realistic plans and fulfilling them through high achievements, or exceeding them, by way of rationalization, is something that is best accomplished where purposeful political-ideological and demanding cultural and educational work is under way that contributes to the development of the socialist way of life.

#### Ideological Problems of the Struggle for Peace and Detente

[Summary of article by Dr Erich Huettnner and Peter Stechmesser, political researchers in SED Central Committee; pp 716-724]

[Text] To oppose the growing influence of the peace policy of socialism and the peoples' yearning for peace, the enemies of detente are engaged in increasing agitation against the Soviet Union and the countries of real socialism. Confronting imperialism's current anticommunist slander campaign, the article proves that the Soviet Union, the pioneer of the progress of humanity, together with the fraternally allied socialist states, is the main power in the struggle for the deepening of detente and its extension to the military domain.

## The Socialist Revolution Is Given Reliable Protection

[Summary of article by Col Gen Herbert Scheibe, graduate military scientist; pp 725-731]

[Text] The military units of the GDR workers class, celebrating their 25th anniversary this year, clearly testify to that our party is creatively implementing Lenin's doctrine on the need for the defense of the socialist revolution. Led by the SED, they have from the first day of their existence always proven their political reliability and steadfastness. Borne by the deep trust of the GDR people, they will always continue in keeping their fighting strength and combat readiness at an appropriate level in order to reliably protect, jointly with the other protective and security organs, our socialist work of construction.

## Science and Technology--A Cause for All of Us

[Summary of article by Dr Herbert Weiz, economist, member, SED Central Committee; deputy chairman, Council of Ministers; minister for science and technology; pp 732-739]

[Text] A high speed in scientific-technical development calls for peak performances which help define the international level of standards and significantly raise our efficiency. New procedures and new technologies are wanted for accelerating our socialist rationalization. Scientifically sound predictions and creative work rich in ideas are crucial for rapid progress in scientific-technical work. A full commitment by the managers and by everyone is needed for fully tapping the innovator and inventive spirit as a source for great achievements and for rapidly applying research results to productive use.

## National Income--Growth--Prosperity

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Helmut Koziolk, economist, SED Central Committee candidate; director, CC's Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management; chairman, Council for Economic Research; member, GDR Academy of Sciences; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 740-748. A translation of this article is published in a recent JPRS issue of TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE--ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] What is the national income, which are the main sources for increasing it, and how can a better use be made of them? What are the connections between the production

and the use of national income, and what can the working people do to have an effect on them? Proceeding from a clarification of those questions, it is being shown, in the sense of the orientation issued by the eighth Central Committee session, that a growth in the increase of the national income exceeding previous growth rates is needed for a continued purposeful implementation of the main task.

#### Creativity in the Research Process

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Werner Gilde, director, Central Institute for Welding Technology, Halle; pp 756-761]

[Text] Planning intellectual work and achieving a highly creative research activity through target-directed orientation call for taking account of what is specific in intellectual work and for fully tapping our social possibilities. What are the tasks that are confronting the head of a research institute to meet the growing scientific-technical progress demands for maximum achievement? A high technical level, a high sense of social responsibility and creative activity are prerequisite to demanding results in research.

#### Youth--Co-shaper of the Developed Socialist Society

[Summary of article by Wolfgang Herger, member, SED Central Committee; chief, CC's youth affairs department; pp 762-769. A West German report on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] Within the revolutionary unity and continuity of generations, embodied and guaranteed by the leadership role of the Marxist-Leninist party, a young generation also always has its own responsibility. The SED regards its youth policy as an inseparable component of its overall policy, its strategic line. By its "FDJ Appeal GDR 30," GDR youth actively participates in shaping the developed socialist society. The party executives are supporting the FDJ in the communist education for all youth. That is also served by the "GDR National Youth Festival" now in preparation.

#### SED Youth Policy to Stress 'Realities'

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 136, 17 Jul 78 p 3

[Text] As the CC's youth affairs department chief Wolfgang Herger explains in the party journal EINHEIT, the SED intends to pay more attention to "realities" in its youth policy. He points out that communist education is a task reaching into the far distant future. Such a view, he says, assures



the necessary measure of realism in evaluating what has already been achieved as well as of what is possible in any given developmental phase. The concrete tasks in communist education should have to be formulated on the basis of a more realistic assessment of the situation. For there would be no sense in raving about the "extraordinary features of the man of the future" and carry such an abstraction into the education process. As the most important goal of SED youth policy Herger refers to developing in all young people an "unconditional loyalty" to party policy and committing them to the implementation of that policy. To that end it should be necessary, when the executives in the party, the state and the social organizations deal with overall social tasks, "also to take account of the youth policy consequences."

Herger admitted in this context that the SED was not unworried when looking at the modes of thinking and conduct among GDR youth. He expressed a hunch that youth today took "everything for granted." It took the "achievements of socialism" as an accepted fact without considering how laboriously they had been obtained.

#### Cultural Policy in the Interest of the Working Man

[Summary of article by Hans-Joachim Hoffmann, member, SED Central Committee; minister for culture; and Dr Werner Kuehn, secretary, minister's Council for Culture; pp 779-787. A West German report on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] The unity of two factors as indispensable pre-requisite for a successful cultural policy in the interest of the working people: the leadership role of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, and an imperturbable and confident alliance policy. The fundamental interests of the workers class and all working people as the crucial starting position for the management and planning of cultural processes. The active participation of the arts in the shaping of the developed socialist society for the fullest development of the value structure of the socialist national culture pervaded by proletarian internationalism.

#### New Focus in SED Cultural Policy

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 134/135, 13-14 Jul 78 'iwe-kultur' supplement

[Text] As revealed in a statement of principle by Minister of Culture Hans-Joachim Hoffmann in the theoretical party journal EINHEIT, the SED is evidently changing its emphases in its cultural policy. Hoffmann underscored the need for putting a scientific stamp on the cultural policy aims and tasks in the future. A new and higher "grade of long-range work" was needed. To that end, the scientific foundation and orchestration should have to be broadened and improved. Cultural progress, he emphasized, came through

"long-range, permanent and systematically directed changes." At present it should have to be one of the most important intellectual-cultural tasks to create an awareness for that with the social changes in the GDR "the historic-concrete tasks and objectives shifted and changed also." Now, even though the GDR was a society that was "receptive to culture," artistic creation would by no means become automatically easier. New questions and many difficulties of a new sort should have to be coped with, as they had arisen from the development of the GDR and the complicated nature of the ideological confrontation with the West. To face these new questions and the developmental problems in art creation and to define and discuss them frankly, with firmness in principle and full of confidence, was a principle in the party's cultural policy. Socialist cultural policy should have to promote and organize the process of intellectual understanding as an important stimulus for the further development of art. It should always have to pay attention to the connection between a high political-esthetic demand, precision in the critical analysis of art interpretation, and the exchange of ideas about political, philosophic and esthetic questions of our time.

"...the Poetic and the Political Inseparably Combined..." (On the Occasion of the 50th Anniversary of the Founding of the Proletarian-Revolutionary Writers Federation in Germany)

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Elisabeth Simons, lecturer, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Culture and Art Studies, Academy of Social Sciences, SED Central Committee; pp 788-796]

[Text] The enforcement of Leninism in the KPD as the political, ideological and organizational prerequisite for a boost to proletarian-revolutionary literature. The "leftist curve" and the discussions about the basic ideological and esthetic positions the revolutionary writers had in common. The literary and theoretical achievements of the writers in the Federation as the foundation for the development of a socialist national literature in the 1930's and 1940's and, above all, in the shaping of the socialist society in the GDR.

Dialectics To Be Fully Utilized as Theory and Method

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Wolfgang Eichhorn I, member, GDR Academy of Sciences; pp 797-804]

[Text] Scientific, critical, revolutionary---these are attributes of the dialectical mode of thought that marks Marxism-Leninism and shapes the conduct of the communists. The application of the materialist dialectic to our practical life makes us understand the revolutionary content of our acts for shaping developed socialism and is a necessary condition for further successful advances. By dealing

with topical questions of the dialectics between productive forces and production relations, and between base and superstructure, the article demonstrates that for the solution of dialectical contradictions, the creative work of the people under party leadership is required.

#### Values--Class Standpoint--Weltanschauung

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Erich Hahn, SED Central Committee candidate; director, Institute for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy, SED CC's Academy of Social Sciences; chairman, Scientific Council for Marxist-Leninist Philosophy; pp 805-812]

[Text] What are values and wherein lies their function in terms of world-outlook and ideology? What is their importance to socialist consciousness development and the shaping of the socialist way of life, and what tasks are to be derived from them for our political-ideological work, for propagating our values? At the same time, by dealing with reactionary idealistic value concepts, the article shows how they serve the disguise and enforcement of imperialist class interests and goals.

#### The Dilemma of 'GDRology'

[Summary of article by Dr Ernst Becker, department head in GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 813-819]

[Text] Bourgeois criticism of the desolate state of "GDRology" hides the deeper cause of its dilemma, the contradiction between its counterrevolutionary objective and the impossibility of implementing it. The basic function of "GDRology," aimed against our republic and pervaded by anticommunism and nationalistic demagoguery, is meant to be further strengthened and combined with the task of disseminating a manipulated GDR image in the FRG and foreign Western countries. Whatever form that diversion may take in its opposition to our republic, all it can expect of the future is to suffer another fiasco.

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## HUNGARY

### BRIEFS

IFJ EXECUTIVE--Budapest, 26 Sep (MTI)--Jiri Kubka, general secretary of the International Federation of Journalists, is staying in Hungary at the invitation of the National Alliance of Hungarian Journalists. He has conducted talks with heads of the Hungarian Alliance on tasks connected with the disclosure of reactionary press circles' endeavours impeding the realization of the Helsinki recommendations. Karoly Grosz, head of department at the HSWP CC, received Jiri Kubka on Tuesday. Present at the meeting was Andras Kiraly, general secretary of the National Alliance of Hungarian Journalists. [Budapest MTI in English 1815 GMT 26 Sep 78 LD]

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POLAND

BRIEFS

OSTROLEKA PARTY PLENUM--The 26 September plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Ostroleka, which was chaired by Committee First Secretary Jerzy Smyczynski, discussed the implementation of the voivodship's food program with regard to plant and animal production and agricultural services and investments. The plenum stressed the need to intensify the production of local fodder and to accelerate the development of specialist farms.  
[Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 27 Sep 78 p 1 AU]

CHELM PARTY PLENUM--The 25 September plenum of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Chelm, which was chaired by Committee First Secretary Henryk Swiderski and attended by Andrzej Czyz, deputy head of the Central Committee Department of Ideoeducational Work, discussed the development of socialist relations and civic attitudes in plants with regard to implementing socioeconomic tasks. The plenum stressed the extreme importance of close and continuous contacts between party and nonparty people and agreed that party organizations must be more effective in condemning asocial attitudes, shoddy performance, avoidance of responsibility and violations of socialist discipline.  
[Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 26 Sep 78 p 1 AU]

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'SCINTEIA' ON THE UNITARY NATURE OF ROMANIAN LANGUAGE

Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1903 GMT 20 Sep 78 AU

[Article: "The Unity of Language--Factor That Facilitated the Great Union of 1918"]

[Text] Bucharest, 20 Sep AGERPRES--The Romanian language has a unitary character from the linguistic point of view, the differences in speaking from one region to another having very little significance, daily SCINTEIA writes in an article on the 60th foundation anniversary of the Romanian unitary national state.

On the other hand, SCINTEIA stresses, the Romanian language as a Romance language has its own traits. Thus everything that singles it out from Latin and the other Romance languages can be found in all the Romanian dialects both in the Daco-Romanian dialect spoken north of the Danube and in those spoken south the Danube: Macedo-Romanian, Megleno-Romanian and Istro-Romanian. The unitary character of the Romanian languages is proved by the originary ethnical name of the people--"Roman" (Romanian), called "Roman," "Valah" or "Ruman." The speaker of the Romanian language was considered to belong to a community speaking the language of Rome; worth mentioning is the fact that the Latin word "Romanus" fully corresponds to the German "Walhos" that was used by the Slavs as "Voloh" and "Vlah" and then by Greeks and Magyars for Romans.

This reality characteristic of the language of the Romanians has deep-going historical causes. As is known, the Romanian language came into being following the blending of the Geto-Dacian linguistic stock with Vulgar Latin. The material and spiritual culture of the Geto-Dacians was relatively unitary. This unitary structure which became more marked when the territorial unions of the Geto-Dacian society gathered into a centralized state, assimilated the Latin language which by the transformation of Dacia into a Roman province, by its colonization and by making the natives take part in the Roman life conferred a perfect unity on the north Danubian population. Great Roman Dacia was thus created in which Latin took over the pre-Roman linguistic unity.

The autochthonous population's unity of language succeeded in tranversing the centuries due to several factors. Facilitating a permanent circulation of the language in and among the regions of post-Roman Dacia--SCINTEIA assesses--the unity of language was, in turn, consolidated by this uninterrupted circulation. The geographical obstacles, the high mountains, the rivers did not hamper the Romanians of various regions to communicate and meet.

Likewise, the unity of language could be preserved and consolidated due to the less rigid feudal organization in Eastern Europe than that in the West. In the Romanian lands there were neither such a marked feudal division, nor castles, nor enclosed estates. The names of "Muntean"; Walachian; "Moldovian" (Moldavian); "Banatean" (of the Banat); "Bucovinean" (Bukovinian); "Dobrogean" (of Dobruja); "Oltean" (of the region on the Olt) do not refer to the language spoken by them, but to the regions they inhabited.

Another factor highlighted by the Romanian daily is that the peasants were bound to land much later and till then they could go from one place to another, securing the expansion and transfer of words from one region to another. That is why, in Transylvania, although marked by the mountain frontier, there was not a "Transylvanian language," because the modifications in the language were rapidly transmitted.

Another element which ensured the unity of the Romanian language is the social homogeneity of the Romanian society in the period when the Romanian people was forming and many centuries afterwards.

The language of the Romanian culture circulated unhampered from one side to another of the Carpathians since its beginnings, spreading trends of modern cultural and national changes and contributing to the unity of the modern Romanian culture. Naturally corresponding to the unity of spoken language was the unity of written language always reflected in the Romanian scholars' consciousness.

The unity of the language spoken by all Romanians--SCINTEIA points out--underlined the unity of written language, which, in turn, contributed to a more marked unity of the spoken language. The unity of the Romanian language was thus a strong factor of consolidating the consciousness of kinship and, later, of nation, of cementing the relationships between Romanians, no matter the borders the time vicissitudes raised between them.

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## POST-CONGRESS PARTY MEETINGS HELD

### New Forms of Party Organization

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 21 Jul 78 p 2

[Article by M.K.: "New Forms, New Contents"]

[Text] No talk on the role of the League of Communists in our society, by its nature, can evade the questions of its organization and the forms of its ideological and campaign operations. Precisely these elements of party life influence to a great extent the quality of the activities of the organization of the Central Committee, its political efficiency, and the scope of its influence. When the theme of the role of the LC obtains the significance of a crucial question in the further development of socialism, such as during congresses and preceding them, then it is also understandable why the interest in the so-called questions of the organization of the LC was discussed with such attention and expressed in congress' positions.

The basic line represented in congressional resolutions and amendments and supplements to the Statute aims at urging, more concretely and more distinctly, the inclusion of the LC into the political system of socialist autonomy. This tendency, when it is the question of the organization of the LC, can be recognized in a series of elements: the significance of the basic organization of the LC is emphasized even more than in the past, which "should continue developing as an active subject of building up new autonomous relations and solving the most important questions from the life and work of its organizations of associated labor, a wider social community and sociopolitical organizations" (from the resolution of the Eighth Congress of the LC of Serbia).

The basic organization of the LC is actually a central point in the realization of a new social role of the LC because both the ideology and the policy of the LC, with the practical problems of autonomous life, directly meet in it. No other political force, whether it be of a general or declarative nature, can replace the kind of activity of the basic organization of the LC we want to have today.



Such a tone is also felt in the congressional documents. The positions on the organization of the LC do not have a tone of canons and irrevocable regulations, but through them permeate, when it is a question about the basic organization of the LC, obvious aspirations to further widen the limits of the democratic activity of communists in the social base (with the labor collectives, local communities, assemblies). This desire is indirectly expressed also by the cancellation of the leading political role of the party conferences and consultations, which experience showed were more of an obstruction than an ideological promoter of versatile political activity among communists and self-managers, sometimes not resisting technobureaucratic pressures from the side.

This political thread stretches farther and can be recognized in the statutory regulations on the organization of the LC in the communities. By reducing the significance of executive organs and functions to a true measure, broad maneuvering space is open to the community conferences of the LC which can develop versatile activities and association with basic organizations of the LC.

The congressional positions actually truly reflected the disposition of the majority of party members that new leaders are not needed in the LC; rather, new and richer forms of activity are needed. The Statute leads them only and does not prescribe, leaving it to communists to come to an agreement on the most suitable forms of activity. The basic organizations and the organs of the LC can also use other forms of activity, in addition to the existing ones: meetings, consultations, seminars, thematic conferences, commissions, working groups, consultative and informative meetings in the delegations of the autonomous interested and sociopolitical communities, the Socialist League, and other organizations.

For the sake of truth, there were voices in the precongress discussion which warned: whether a multitude of possible forms of activity, instead of "classical" forms of political leadership, will not lead to an undesirable independence of the basic organizations of the LC and unwanted political tendencies in them. Surely such a danger exists, but how much is it realistically possible on a wider political plan? We shall mention only several facts speaking against such a kind of suspicion.

The principle of democratic centralism, on which the activity of the entire LC is based, is not in question if the forms of the building up and the realization of the positions of the LC become richer and more democratic within the framework of the united political platform. Finally, our present social moment is essentially different from that preceding the passing of the new constitution and the 10th congress. The autonomous consciousness of the working people and citizens and the ideological-political unity of the LC grew into a historical fact and material force which not only enable but also require the changes in question. Human happiness and welfare, which was the motto of the concluding words of Comrade Tito at the 11th

congress, cannot be measured by principles and declarations; on the contrary, they are a true measure of the validity of a political and social orientation.

It may be useful to point out that every higher level of freedom also requires a higher responsibility. Exactly such a challenge is faced today by all LC members in their basic organizations. To what extent they will be ideologically qualified for the tasks of the new stage, with what content they will fill up ever richer forms of activity open to them, with how much zeal and will power they are going to enter the struggle for self-management--these are the questions which cannot be evaded in the forthcoming action on the new organization of the League of Communists.

#### LC Tasks in Montenegro

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jul 78 p 2

[Article by Nada Saranovic: "After Discussions--Actions"]

[Text] "Now we have to switch to actions, from all the words spoken here," said President Tito among other things in his closing words at the 11th congress. This message, applauded at length and cordially by the delegates of the congress became, as was the impression, the framework of the post-congress discussions among the communists of Montenegro. Both in the pre-congress preparations and during the congress itself, there was also a word or two on omissions and mistakes, in addition to the realization of indisputable achievements in past development. Obviously, more could have been done. Along with the unquestionable ideological unity, the campaign qualifications of the LC as a whole, and its every member in particular, are essential to make these answers effective--to transfer the spirit of the discussion into every vital and working environment.

Such a determination for the Montenegro communists is perhaps even more significant than in some other area. High losses and low productivity are the questions which for a long time were seriously occupying the attention of the LC organizations in this republic. Truly, the conditions are changing, for the better of course, but mainly thanks to the changes caused by so-called objective factors. What is understood under the subjective causes of the complex economic situation is still not changing, at least not at a desired and possible pace. This post-congress moment is an opportunity, as assured by almost all labor circles, to change working methods, to shift the "focus of activity"--in a word, for communists and all working people to turn to themselves and to this hope for the inner reserve to carry out speedier changes in both the relations and conditions.

Versatile pre-congress preparations and critical analysis of vital and working practice, and "good and clear decisions for the paths of further development of our country and further strengthening of the LCY," according

to the words of President Tito at the 11th congress, in every environment mean something else. To the communists of the town of Pljevlje, for example, judging by the just finished programs of activity of the basic organizations of the LC, this means an obligation to carry out with success a powerful investment swing. This responsibility is best evidenced by the fact that about 5 billion dinars, or every sixth dinar in the economic investments of the current medium-range development plan in Montenegro, is being spent in this community. Numerous weaknesses have already been noticed, the final results of which are significant excesses in both resources and deadlines of construction. It is only possible to realize ambitious developmental tasks with the full responsibility and a maximum engagement of all forces. Here, only in this way is it possible to carry out the tasks of the 11th LCY Congress and the Seventh Congress of the LC of Montenegro.

In the "Radoje Dakic" Organization of the Industry of the Construction Machinery in Titograd, however, the basic task is adopted beforehand at the meeting of the conference of the LC of this labor organization to coordinate the working organization with production potential and the distribution of personal income with the results of work. For example, only 40 percent of the total employed people in this labor organization work in direct production (for total relations at "Radoje Dakic")--where the revenue is formed; last month alone 42 percent of the working time was lost outside production: 16 percent due to sick leave, 15 percent due to delays and defects of machinery, and 11 percent due to the lack of work materials. Obviously, here the LC has numerous and serious tasks. It is encouraging to realize that every individual there is ready to solve them within the framework of his obligations.

To implement the decisions of the 11th congress in the planning organization of the LC means, first of all, the obligation to activate those "two tiny plants in which the key was put into the locks even before any operation started." At Ulcinj, it is the task of the communists, before all others, to prevent the anarchy and usurpation of the social land their representative spoke about at the recent consultation on the tasks of the communists, held in the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Montenegro.

These examples, and they are present in every area, indicate how many joint and specific tasks the LC of Montenegro faces simultaneously. Only the messages of the 11th congress, so understood and transmitted, will hopefully become a new moving force in the persistent struggle for the realization of long-range goals of social and material development in which associated labor will rule over their own work and its results ever more complete, more successful, and with still more freedom.

## Meeting of Croatian Central Committee

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 14 Jul 78 p 3

[Article by M.B.: "The Adoption of the Working Program"]

[Text] At its first working meeting following the 11 July congress in Zagreb, members of the newly elected Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia adopted the general program of a 1-year operation of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia and its bodies, selected permanent commissions, and discussed current tasks in the domain of social self-protection. A basic obligation of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia and its organs in the next 4 years will be, generally speaking, to prepare the organizations and leaders of the League of Communists of Croatia and other sociopolitical organizations, delegations and autonomous assemblies and their organs, for as successful as possible realizations of the congressional decisions and set policies of the sociopolitical and economic development of the Federal Republic of Croatia and the SFRJ. Naturally, this also imposes a need for adapting its activities and methods of operation, as well as of those of the entire League of Communists, to the new conditions.

The operational program of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, explained at the meeting by Milutin Baltic, secretary of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia, is geared toward the realization of precisely such a role for the League of Communists. Therefore, it is not strange for the program to specifically insist that all the republic's organs and sociopolitical organizations bear their share of responsibility and carry out as efficiently as possible their constitutional obligations and congressional goals. It is, however, the obligation of the Central Committee and its bodies to engage in their preparation for this responsible social task.

The Central Committee in this period will direct particular attention and activity to those ideological-political matters from the domain of socioeconomic relations in economic and noneconomic activities which essentially and directly influence further autonomous and socioeconomic development of our society. Current questions in connection with a free exchange of work, functioning of autonomous interested communities, and processes of the autonomous changes in upbringing, education, science, culture, physical culture, and health will also be discussed.

The action toward further development and strengthening of equal relations of all our people and nationalities will also continue, and intensify, as will the ideological-political analysis of trends, appearances and activities of still present, numerous antisocialist forces.

Having in mind both past results and shortcomings, the work of further ideological and political and theoretical training of the members and organizations of the League of Communists of Croatia will continue, work which has to be modeled to a new role and mode of operations of the League of Communists.

In the next period, the Central Committee members will be faced with a showdown of ideological and political questions of the increasingly active role of press, radio and television in the development of socialist self-management, as well as a series of other very concrete problems not included in this working program.

Taking into account the fact that it is only the question of a general listing of affairs faced by the Central Committee, individual participants of the meeting, however, expressed their opinion that the program is quite general, treating more the organizational questions and institutions, and less the contents and problems within these institutions. Therefore, it was decided to supplement the adopted general program of tasks with the suggestions from discussions, and finally to formulate it at one of the next meetings of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia.

The members of the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia then established seven 15-member permanent commissions of the Central Committee, of which could be numerically enlarged, depending on the discussed problems.

The following persons were elected as presidents of the commissions: Ema Derosi--Bjelajac (Commission for the Development of the League of Communists, and personnel development), Cedo Grbic (autonomous sociopolitical system), Milan Miskovic (autonomous socioeconomic relations and development), Stipe Tonkovic (autonomous development of social activities), Rade Kalanj (ideological-political questions), Franko Vinter (international labor movement matters), and Cedomir Paic (materiel, financial affairs).

The Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia was also presented with information on the condition and problems of social self-protection in the republic, and information on registration into the second grade of directed education in the Federal Republic of Croatia. The committee made a decision on criteria for collecting donations from members of the League of Communists for the construction of the "Josip Broz Tito" political school building of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia at Kumrovec.

#### Changing Role of Opstina LC in Slovenia

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 28 Jul 78 p 6

[Article by Vljako Krivokapic: "Exchange of Roles"]

[Text] The last meetings of the community conferences to name the new leadership of community committees, executive secretaries, and commissions

will soon take place. Up until now, this action has been contrary to the methods and forms of organization of the LC of Slovenia. This matter was not approached as being just the latest reorganization of the LC.

As is known, immediately following the Eighth Congress of the LC of Slovenia, the Presidium of the Central Committee came to the conclusion that it would be essential to reduce the present community committees to a rational number of members (not more than 15), and this also refers to the community conferences (to have no more than 60 members). The Presidium based this position on an analysis of the activity of these forums, which determined that they are too bulky in structure; thus LC community leaders cannot execute their statutory and programmatic tasks on time and consistently. It was then decided that community leaders should be organized like the republic, which means they should have community commissions and executive secretaries. Within this structure the work of the basic organization was also discussed, and it was noticed that they were connected very poorly with the community leadership. One reason for such a situation was the inability of the committees and community conferences to perform their functions properly. Moreover, they--especially the committee--communicated most often with the basic organizations over the appropriate forms of organization; the council of the LC in the labor organizations, local communities, etc. Therefore, there was an understandable insistence for the basic organizations of the LC to associate themselves directly with the community leadership, as mentioned extensively also at the Eighth Congress of the League of Communists of Slovenia. To be able to completely fulfill all the obligations, it was necessary to prepare the community leadership in matters of organization, content, and actions. Part of this preparation was also done by the community conferences at their last meetings.

Much work still has to be done for the LC community conference to become a forum which would not only adopt the LC policy within the community, but also lead it, especially when some of its members were usually charged with the work and activity of the individual basic organizations of the LC and nothing more. This is really not enough for the forum to become the most important form of work and LC activity in the community.

For this reason, the community conference has massive obligations, and it must be prepared to successfully execute its statutory and programmatic tasks in the community and to have the same role as the Presidium of the Central Committee in the republic.

Past experience shows that the community conferences really were not performing such a function. Also, the community committees should be further qualified so they might become real headquarters which would, together with the executive secretaries, watch over the execution of tasks, and not just be engaged in the formulation of policies. For example, according to available data, the committees invested the most energy and will only in the preparation of various plans and working programs, and very little,

if at all, were they concerned with analyzing the execution of these plans and programs--i.e., with the promotion of work and activity through which conditions would be created for consistent realization of these plans and programs. This often resulted in the "exchange" of functions of the community leadership. The conference was adopting and the committee was preparing, instead of the conference first drawing up and then adopting these documents, which the committee should then execute, i.e., carry out. Now, it is necessary to bring matters into order and establish necessary relations.

To accomplish this, the executive secretaries should have a separate role and obligations. Namely, they have to find all the necessary elements for fruitful work in their territories. Thus, their persistence and perseverance in making analyses, and in the realization of the working plans resulting from the work programs of the conference and the committee, will be of an exceptional significance. And the commissions, on their part, should prepare the materials essential to the community conferences for work programming and for analyses.

One of the significant questions is finding the most efficient methods of communication, information and reporting, ideological-political training, and campaign orientation of the basic organizations of the LC by the community leadership. Therefore there should be a thorough analysis of this entire matter as soon as possible, and not wait for the days of rest to pass by. These analyses can also be an estimate of how we visualize this activity and operation, and how we plan to carry it out. Also, it is necessary to think of further preparation of the members of the conference and community committees. It seems that so far this question is on a "deadend track."

#### Serbian LC Commission for Statutory Questions

Belgrade KOMUNIST in Serbo-Croatian 11 Aug 78 p 2

[Article by Milentije Vuksanovic: "To Affirm a Critical Opinion"]

[Text] According to the LCY Statute, the LCY appears in society not as a carrier of political monopoly, partisanship, and competition; rather, with its initiatives, suggestions, and criticism, it takes an equal part in democratic discussion, in taking positions, preparations of proposals, and making decisions on all questions of the socialist autonomous development.

The experience in the work of the commission for statutory questions of the Central Committee of Serbia between the two previous congresses indicated that the execution of these statutory principles had not been flowing without difficulties and misunderstanding in all areas. Moreover, as said at a recently held meeting of the commission, there are still many unclear items and serious problems in connection with the application of the statutory

norms. For instance, there were numerous cases of "persecution" of individual members of the Central Committee for directly "pointing their finger" at various mistakes, irregularities, and inconsistencies. Therefore, a warning was made at the meeting of the commission that one should be more careful in cases of examining the responsibility of those communists who, in a way, were victims of "clashes and revenge expressed in various forms." In addition to giving full satisfaction to the expelled member of the LC, responsibility of the person who initiated and stirred up unfounded actions against people will be requested. The significance of the rights determined by the Statute of the LC member to express his opinion on all political positions and problems both in his organization and at other organized meetings was again emphasized, along with the obligation to explain his claims too. If he uses falsehood and misinformation, naturally he will have to bear political responsibility.

In addition to clear principles, the problem is still to assert the truth. Therefore, it is only logical for the commission to accent the method of work which secures finding valid arguments "from the first hand" on how to judge people. Every constructive, critical opinion, i.e., one which is a function of the revolutionary action of the LC, cannot and must not be a motive for any sanction or political measure. Along with the realization of such a position, the commission will work on a vigorous suppression of every occurrence of negative, quasi-criticism, subjectivism, and imposition of personal motives, especially when it is the question of underrating human dignity.

Communists today operate in very complex conditions of social and political development in our country. As always, to successfully fulfill their role, they must excel in their work, behavior, and knowledge. However, since life does not move along imagined lines, the orientation of communists in concrete circumstances is being probed daily. Thus, the work in influence of the statutory organs are of extraordinary significance. Numerous examples indicate that "exercising" justice, and a practical application of the Statute, are not a simple and easy matter.

The members of the statutory commission met also with communists, "litigants" of their kind, who in their "defense" used half truths, choosing any means to "blacken" all and everybody. When such a man describes a condition in his area, recording pedantically over the years what was going on to present himself as a "victim" of the existing relations, an impression would be given of an impossible situation. However, when all the valid arguments are carefully analyzed and studied, there are different conclusions. The picture of the condition becomes more realistic.

For example, the statutory commission of the LC at Nis was not ready to confirm the decision of the basic organization of the LC on expelling one of its members. But, when the members of the commission visited this basic organization, the complainant did not even request to be heard, although called upon several times to say at least something. Before that, he was



"proving" in writing at length and extensively how innocent he was. A physician, again from Nis, almost became victim of the undemocratic actions of his comrades but, thanks to a correct estimate of the conditions, responsibility, and relations in this organization, he was reinstituted as a member of the LCY. Hastiness in judging mistakes of individual members of the LC is also evidenced by the fact that in 70 percent of the cases, the application of measures is explained as "clashes with the LC platform and the general line of the LC." This speaks for itself that the treatment in taking party measures against LC members who make mistakes is neglected, but not to the extent immediately labeling them as perpetrators of anti-party, ideological digression.

Thus, it is the matter of the defense of the principles which are socially probed daily, of the struggle for man--the fighter, of the support of his courage, initiative, and readiness to fulfill his role on an open scene, at the social fireworks where there are not any, and should not be any, shelters prepared in advance. Together with all other working people, the LC member fights equally for the construction and deepening of new autonomous socialist relations in his organization and the entire society. But this struggle is not in a straight line, and it is necessary to separate in it ideological character from idealism. They who work do make mistakes, but the question is whether somebody points out an error to them on time and in which way it is done. There are, say, members of the LC who were removed from the first battle lines by a powerful hand of bureaucracy; narrow groups and individuals were skillfully imposing their will upon the weakened organizations, thus "legally" fighting the individuals who were in their way.

Although the conditions for the activities of communists are very complex, which in recent years was rightfully emphasized, this is not, and cannot be, the reason for deviating from any principle on which activity, work, and behavior of the LC member are based. As indicated also by the experience of the commission for statutory questions of the LC of Serbia the danger is, among other things, also in the opportunistic flight from responsibility and everyday struggle for new relations. But, if the idea we fight for lies really deep in our heart, then there is no danger that the communists will succumb to all kinds of bourgeois or bureaucratic pressures.

#### Emphasis on Basic LC Organizations

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 10 Aug 78 p 3

[Article by D. Kocic: "New Bases of Organization:"]

[Text] The essential questions of the realization of the leading role of the LC, development of its internal democratic relations, the methods of activity and forms of organization under the conditions of the developed

socioeconomic relations in the system of the socialist self-management were determined in the report of Comrade Tito and the documents of the 11th Congress of the LCY.

#### Speedier Training of the Basic Organizations of the LC

Starting with the positions of the highest party gathering, as well as the amendments and supplements to the LCY Statute, feverish activity started in all the community committees toward further adequate organization and accommodation of the working methods and activity of the LC under the new conditions. In this ideological-political, organizational, and active building up of the LC, particular attention was paid to the qualification of the basic organizations of the LC, which truly is a permanent task, as an irreplaceable subject of all party policy, through which the LC carries out its influence upon, and its closest ties with, the working people.

In the period between the 10th and 11th congresses the basic LC organizations, many groups of activists, and other forms of the party organization have been formed in virtually everywhere. In spite of this, there are still areas in which not enough was done in this respect. The facts confirm it most eloquently: Of 1,437 villages--790 still do not have basic LC organizations, while in 360 villages there are neither basic organizations nor divisions of the LC. Likewise, 34 basic organizations of associated labor do not have basic organizations of the LC. Therefore, to form the basic organizations of the LC where there are none is now without doubt a priority task, first of all in the basic organizations of associated labor and local communities themselves, because the lack of basic LC organizations in the basic organizations of associated labor represents a great problem to further development of the autonomous socioeconomic relations in these areas. Likewise, the present stage of the organization of the LC in the local communities does not correspond to a sufficient degree to the requirements of an effective and united activity of the LC within them. Through a better organization of the LC in villages, vital questions of these areas will be touched, first of all the questions of a speedier association of the individual agricultural producers. The examples from a group of local communities, in which the LC is well organized so far, demonstrate that in these areas the conscience of farmers who are members of the LC has increased regarding the need to speed up the development of agriculture and villages by uniting labor and resources. In addition, it should be concluded that it is necessary to reexamine the territorial organization of local communities in the actions to further organize the LC "in the base," because practice has shown that they are very bulky in some communities and do not correspond to real needs.

#### To Form Campaign Conferences

The statutory changes also "imposed" the question of a closer association of the basic organizations of the LC and the community conferences. Namely

since there are no organs or forums among them which would have a status of leadership, which is now regulated by the Statute, it is necessary--which had already been done in some communities--to concentrate the activity of the basic organizations of the LC in the basic organizations of associated labor, labor and compound organizations toward forming the so-called campaign conferences which do not make decisions or take positions, rather they give directives and suggestions for ideological-political and organizational work in the basic LC organizations themselves. This means that such former conferences as the forums of the LC in labor and compound organizations of associated labor of material production and local communities should be transformed as soon as possible in the spirit of the statutory changes.

The question of association of the organization of the LC in the local community with communists employed in the economy and out-of-economy activities, has been, and is today, very current. Former actions of inclusion of not a small number of communists produced no satisfactory results. These estimates, first of all, are valid in local communities in urban areas, but the weaknesses are also expressed in the country sector, i.e., in the basic organizations of the LC in the village. For this reason, it is necessary to consider a possibility of forming meetings of communists in apartment houses, neighborhoods, and the like, which would enable them to get together more easily.

#### To Strengthen and To Affirm the Role of Worker-Activists

In the next period a very significant action is imminent, i.e., to consistently realize the position that the community conference of the LC really become the highest organ of the LC in the community. To achieve this task the community organizations of the LC must persistently work on constant qualification of the basic organizations and members to be active among masses of people, and for wider social action, and particularly for members of the LC to act as an internal force of the autonomous and delegation systems. This, naturally, means massive obligations of the community organizations of the LC to adequately organize and further develop the most versatile forms of Marxist indoctrination and ideological-political qualification of all LC members.

The present practice in a great number of community organizations indicates that the conference of the LC was in a secondary plan, that meetings were rare, and that the programs and labor reports were given more consideration than exemplary ideological-political questions in the community. In these areas the role of the community committees was emphasized more as an organ of the conference with very wide political authority.

In this action toward further adequate organization of the LC a very significant place belongs also to worker-activists, active producers whose comments, suggestions, and opinions can be very useful in the work of either community conferences and the committees, and basic organizations of

the LC themselves. For this reason, it is necessary to take constant care for further affirmation of worker-activists themselves, along with action to better organize the basic organizations of the LC themselves.

The new organizational process of the LC is undoubtedly a long-term task which requires a maximum engagement from every LC member toward its realization. Without it, without everyday actions, the results of adequate organization of party life and work would not have the effect determined by the LCY Statute.

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YUGOSLAVIA

'DELO' CORRESPONDENT REPORTS ON ZHIVKOV CARINTHIA VISIT

Slovenian Reaction, Official Statements

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 22 Sep 78 p 4

[Article by Marjan Sedmak]

[Text] Klagenfurt, 21 Sep--In spite of considerable hesitation which disclosed the political dubiousness of such a move, yesterday a little before 1300 hours, Bulgarian President Zhivkov, who has been in Austria for 3 days on an official visit, arrived in Carinthia. What is very significant here is that Zhivkov is the first head of state to visit this Austrian federal state in the last 17 years.

Two weeks ago, the Carinthian Slovenians themselves were the first to express their doubts about this visit. It is in the spirit of the Helsinki Treaties that the states of Europe are instituting ties in order to have fruitful and strong mutual relations. The development of such relations is even better when the countries concerned are two states who by virtue of social system or alliances are members of one or another political, ideological or economic bloc. It is especially advantageous for Bulgaria, a faithful member of long standing of one of the two European bloc groups, to become acquainted with the non-bloc realities of international life as well. This process will probably help it to find out, little-by-little, in the future what the proper role of national minorities is, and why it is necessary to defend them. This is why SLOVENSKI VESTNIK, the organ of the Federation of Slovenia Organizations stated 2 weeks ago, that this visit, the visit of Zhivkov to Austria, could undoubtedly contribute to better and more fruitful cooperation between Austria and Bulgaria.

Of course, the implementation of one part of the Helsinki documents must not at the same time mean the negation of another part. The interest expressed by both states when they speak about mutual cooperation and the strengthening of such cooperation, must not, even in part, rely on any bases of anti-minority policy. The Helsinki documents, which were signed by both Austria

and Bulgaria mention not only cooperation between European states, but also provide full support and protection also to national minorities, and give these minorities a special place in the relations between European states. For this reason, the organ of the Federation of Slovenian Organizations could not avoid stating in connection with the predicted visit by Zhivkov to Carinthia that Zhivkov, as the head of a state that convulsively refuses to acknowledge the national identity of Macedonians in Bulgaria, is coming to visit that Austrian Federal State that acts the same way in preventing the Slovenians in Austria to express their national identity freely and without limitation. In this respect, Austria, contrary to Bulgaria, helped at least to legalize this lack of equal rights in its 7 July legislation. On the very basis of these objective circumstances, the expected visit of Zhivkov to Carinthia has assumed clear characteristics in that it aimed both against the Slovenian and the Macedonian minorities.

The doubts expressed by the Slovenian populace in Carinthia were not without basis, since Austria and Bulgaria in the last few years in international forums as a rule have found themselves in the same closed and rigid nationalistic positions in every case where the determination of the minority problem was concerned. The search for that basic lever that has led a bourgeois politician to deal with a minority problem in the same narrow and closed way as a statist bureaucrat does is a sensitive problem area which is interesting also from a theoretical standpoint.

In regard to all this, it is quite pleasant to read what the Carinthian press published at the beginning of this week (that Federal President Kirchschlaeger himself stated to Yugoslav diplomatic representatives that in planning this trip to Carinthia, the Austrian protocol officials did not think in any way that it would come to any kind of anti-Slovenian or anti-Yugoslav implications), however, it does not change the matter in the least. A look into the Carinthian papers shows that such is the case and that the old dark cloud before the rain has shown through this protocol intervention. Both of the largest newspapers, the Socialist KTZ and the ecclesiastical KLEINE ZEITUNG with merely a few words note what Austrian political officials gave as the main purpose of the visit (development of economic relations, so to say). On the other hand, they devote entire pages to the so-called Yugoslav-Bulgarian dispute over the rights of the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria. And whereas the KTZ published an article under by-line of its own reporter, KLEINE ZEITUNG, the widest-circulation morning paper in Austria, published only a few advertising pages, in which a Bulgarian client advertises the well-known principles of his policy toward the Macedonian minority in Bulgaria. No matter how hard the Austrian protocol service worked, it is obvious that the minority implications of this visit cannot be avoided. Here again we encounter the anti-Slovenian and anti-Yugoslav consequences of this trip to Carinthia.

The political implications of such a trip are also so unavoidable, that the APA Austrian news agency had to state today again, referring to the "authorized spokesmen," that the trip by Zhivkov to Carinthia has nothing to do

with the minority problem and that it is Zhivkov's intention to visit tourist and power engineering facilities (stemming from the current economic needs of Bulgaria) which are located outside the bilingual territory. The doubts concerning this kind of visit have in cases also infected the "official spokesmen," who used the same agency lines today to heap half of the blame for such a visit to Carinthia on the guest himself, since this is the third time he has been in Austria, and this time he wanted to visit the state which he had not visited so far. Today, the doubts were expressed with full clarity by Ettmyer, the foreign policy spokesman of the opposition Peoples Party, who reproached the government for not having acted sensibly with this kind of planning of a visit, because this itself will again heat up the interest of international society to the Carinthian minority problem.

Of course it is the pushiness that comes from the Bulgarian side which was well expressed among other ways, in the paid advertisement of the Bulgarian anti-minority policy in this morning's KLEINE ZEITUNG, and at the same time in the Austrian Government itself. This is the only way to understand not only the statements of the "Austrian authorized spokesmen," but also the discretion with which they transported the Bulgarian statesman from Klagenfurt airport away from the hot area to the tourist and power engineering facilities west of Spittal.

#### Quandary of Austrian CP

Ljubljana DELO in Slovenian 25 Sep 78 p 8

[Article by Marjan Sedmak]

[Text] Klagenfurt 24 Sep--At the end of last week the state leadership of the Communist Party of Austria also discussed the controversial visit by Bulgarian President Zhivkov, and gave its full support to Zhivkov's visit. At that same meeting, they rebuked the leaders of Slovenian organizations in Austria who saw in this visit the merging of two anti-minority policies.

As is known, the 2-day visit of the Bulgarian president, who was on an official visit to Carinthia on 20 and 21 September, was met with great displeasure by the Carinthian Slovenians. The visit blatantly linked two states in which minorities are engaged in struggle for their most elementary rights, in which case these links could not be concealed by any sort of official back tracking.

It is a fact that what is concerned here is not just an isolated political move, since Austria and Bulgaria in recent times before international and other forums have frequently spoken in a common and uniform language when it came to questions relating to the protection of minorities.

The position in which the Carinthian fraction of the Communist Party of Austria has found itself in regard to this visit was not simple by any

means. For the CP of Austria has been presenting itself as the only consistent protagonist of minority rights in the spectrum of Austrian political parties. With the Zhivkov visit, the Austrian communists found themselves in a quandry between consistency in national minority policy and their obligation to use their authority to defend the political moves of Warsaw Pact countries.

As is evident from the report on the meeting, they decided in favor of the latter, which leads to new unusual consequences. The state leadership of the CP of Austria has rejected the protests of Slovenian leaders with the same formal documents used by official Austrian organs, to the effect that the objective of the Zhivkov visit to Carinthia was not to deal with the minority question but rather to visit tourist and power engineering installations.

The bind that derives from the basic dilemma of the CP of Austria is revealed also by the arguments used by Hans Kalt, member of the Politbureau of the CP of Austria, at the meeting of the state leadership to deal with the Slovenian response to the visit. Instead of getting to the bottom of the situation and determining whether any comparison between the nationality policy of Bulgaria on one hand and the policy of reactionary German nationalist policy of Bulgaria on one hand and the policy of reactionary German nationalist circles on the others could be possible if Bulgaria provided its minorities with the rights they deserve, Kalt put the blame for this comparison on the Slovenian minority leadership and reproached them that with their statements they were attempting to put the Bulgarian president on the same level as the reactionary Carinthian German nationalists.

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YUGOSLAVIA

KOSOVO PRESIDIUM NOTES RELIGIOUS QUESTIONS, NEED FOR PRISON

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Sep 78 p 6

[Excerpts] The 15 September meeting of the presidium of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo, which was chaired by Dzavid Nimani, examined relations between the state organs and religious communities in the province and declared that these relations are good and are developing in accord with the constitution and the law. The presidium gave a positive assessment of the provincial executive council's report on these relations and said that relations are developing favorably, thanks to our principled policy, positive conduct, and the actions of religious communities and the majority of the clergy, despite occasional resistance by certain reactionary elements and despite individual excesses.

Our society in the past period has offered aid to religious communities both in resolving questions relating to the status of the clergy in regard to material assistance, health and social insurance, as well as [questions regarding] material aid in preserving and restoring historical monuments.

The presidium also examined the report from the secretariat for the judiciary and general administration on measures needed to improve the conditions in prisons in Kosovo. The presidium also supported a report on the need to take measures to build a penal-reform institution in Istok and said that efforts must be made to speed up the raising of funds through federal organs and organs in the Republic of Serbia, as well as opstinas in Kosovo, to finance this construction and increase efforts to begin construction.

[Editorial Note] The 10 August 1978 issue of RILINDJA (page 6), the Albanian-language daily published in Pristina, reprinted from POLITIKA EKSPRES (Belgrade 8 Aug 78 p 3) the news that death sentences had been handed down for two of the four Albanians imprisoned in the Zabela penal-reform institution near Belgrade who had "carried out an unprecedented massacre" at the prison on 13 August 1977, killing four prisoners and wounding six others, including a commanding officer of the prison. Death sentences for the other two Albanians were commuted to 20-year sentences.

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